

THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF RELIGIOUS PSYCHOLOGY AND EDUCATION.

VOLUME 3

MAY, 1908.

No. 1

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF CHRISTIAN HYMNS.

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For a number of years I have given occasional attention to the psychology of Christian hymns. I have recently gone over the subject in a connected way, and have endeavored to put into a consistent whole the result of my studies. It has been a question with me whether it would not have been more interesting and more illuminating to the reader to subject the writings of a single author to a careful analysis, in order to ascertain his personal mentality. In the case of many men such a study would, however, have been lacking in the unity which we may expect to find in a volume in which the theology and the religious emotions of a single denomination have for centuries found lyric expression. It is well known that a man's religion often appears to have but slight connection with his intellect. Newton and Gladstone are typical exemplars. When they were dealing with the unvarying forces of nature or interpreting the social conditions of historic man they exhibited an almost unmatched keenness of intellectual penetration, no less than a vigor of constructive imagination that is amazing. They were capable of grappling successfully with the most abstruse problems of human experience. They possessed that peculiar insight which enabled them to penetrate into realms where no man had preceded them, and to solve problems that had been mysteries before. Newton was a mathematician of the very highest order. Gladstone was not only a constructive statesman; he was also able to illuminate some phases of man's past history to an extent that had never been done until he grappled with them. On the other hand when

either of these men deals with the transcendental problems that fall under the general head of *religion*, his mind never advances beyond the primitive theological stage. Both then stood upon a level with the average orthodox believer. Both seem to have accepted the Bible almost literally. They believed the miracles therein recorded, although they did not believe in miracles in general, and exercised a great deal of intellectual ingenuity in making them appear credible.

These men and many others like them had two minds, one of which they employed in the study of problems that come under the head of religion, the other for all other purposes. The theological mind never invaded the secular, but when the secular mind appeared in the theological arena, which was often the case, it took the peculiar hue of the region and prevented them from seeing objects in their true light. While the one mind was essentially modern and scientific, the other was thoroughly mediæval and mystical. This being the case, it seemed a far easier task to trace with fruitful results the lyric forms in which a denomination has for a long time given utterance to its religious feelings than to fathom the psyche of a single individual of the unusual type; and no other was worth examining. I have chosen the Methodist Hymnal as my subject for the reason that it is fairly representative of all Protestant Christians who profess the pedobaptist creed. Moreover, the edition of 1905 is endorsed by the bishops of both the Northern and Southern branches of the denomination, and therefore represents the consensus of the Methodist Episcopal church throughout the world. But even to make this study complete it would be necessary to go back to the earliest editions compiled or authorized by the Wesleys during their lifetime and compare them with the successive collections that have been issued up to our day. As this would also have taken up a great deal of space I have taken note only of the latest edition, comparing it now and then with the next preceding, that of 1878, in order to exhibit the changes that have come over the spirit of this denomination in somewhat less than a generation. We have here the evidence that Protestantism represents progress along certain lines in contradistinction to Roman Catholicism which clings tenaciously to the past. It is true, the creed remains literally unchanged, although its interpretation has undergone modifications in the minds of those who have given it careful thought. By such a study we are able to apprehend what we may designate as a mental stratum that is of

varying thickness and which extends through that large section of mankind, drawn together by a sort of consanguinity of temperament and to observe the poetic forms by which this temperamental consanguinity finds perennial expression and nourishment. Lyric poetry is, in general, defined as that form of verse through which the subject gives utterance to what he thinks and feels as distinguished from epic in which the poet narrates what he has learned or professes to have learned from others. No hard and fast line can, however, be drawn between the two divisions, as they constantly encroach upon each other. The nursery rhymes of Jack and Jill, or of Old Mother Hubbard are lyrical as to form, but as strictly epic as to contents as are the *Iliad* or *Paradise Lost* or *Hermann and Dorothea*, although each contains fewer than a score of words. Many of Wordsworth's poems, to cite no others, describe a brief episode in the life of one or more individuals; they must therefore be regarded as miniature epics. Because of the brevity of such productions their authors have eschewed a dignified kind of verse and have expressed themselves in the simplest style.

It is contended by many critics, E. A. Poe among them, that a long epic is always a series of shorter epics, either joined or strung together. The point is well taken. In all religious poetry there is more or less theology. Although the Greeks had no hard or fast system of religious belief they held a creed in which there were certain universally recognized articles. Some of their gods were believed to have a fairly well defined sphere of activity, even though they might sometimes go beyond it. This is taken for granted in the *Homeric Hymns*, by Pindar, by the tragic poets, and in the popular ritual. Similarly, we find in Christian hymnology certain theological beliefs expressed in verse, sometimes for the purpose of impressing them more firmly in the minds of the neophytes, sometimes as a support to religious emotions. In such hymns, or in the theological allusions which they contain, there is no subjective factor whatever. People have repeated or sung them almost from time immemorial because they are rhythmical and because they fit into a theological system. To this class belong the *Gloria Patri*, and the so-called doxologies.

All hymns, therefore, coming under this general class have no value as revelations of the subjective state of the author or singer. They are records of a creed renewed from time to time, but they are worth-

less as disclosures of a personal psyche. To the same class belong also those that touch upon events of biblical history, except in so far as the writer identifies his own experience with that of the men of the olden time. This has been done to a large extent in the edition of '78, which contains more than fifteen hundred references to passages in the Old and New Testament. In the edition of 1905 these references are relatively less numerous.

Charles Wesley was essentially a man of moods. No matter what the nature or occasion of these moods, he felt impelled to give them expression in lyric form. He is said to have composed about six thousand hymns. Supposing his creative faculty to have continued in working order for sixty years we get an average of about two compositions per week. There is in the very nature of the case much repetition, as the same mood would find utterance more than once in the same way and almost in the same words. Every experience that passed through his psyche took a strongly religious coloring; it therefore kept him from despair though not from despondency. It follows as a matter of necessity that the theological mind, or the theological portion of the duplex mentality spoken of above, cannot grow. As God is the same "from everlasting to everlasting," and as according to Protestant belief, he has long since completed the revelation of himself, the orthodox believer has spoken virtually the same language in every period of his life. Although his songs may vary somewhat, the refrain is always the same.

As is well known, many persons in whom the instinct of authorship is strong have found surcease of sorrow in the same way. Euripides is a classic example. Goethe often found relief through this safety-valve, while some of his countrymen were driven to madness or to suicide by the incongruity between life as they found it, and life as they imagined it should be and could be. The victim was overborne by the crushing weight of the sober reality. It is probable that Cowper was kept fairly normal by his strong religious faith. Like the Wesleys, he believed that the all-wise and all-powerful Providence was likewise all-beneficent. It was therefore only a weak faith that was unable to see in the world the mysterious workings of God. John Wesley was much more a man of action than of reflection and a great deal more optimistic than his brother. It may be said of him that he more closely resembled the typical Englishman. In hymn 579 Charles

speaks of trembling "on the brink of fate." He asks himself, whether he is born to "fly into a world unknown, a land of deepest shade?" He is tormented with the question, "What will become of me?" when I pass from earth. Shall I be damned or "numbered with the blest?" (590). It sounds strange to hear a Christian speak of "fate." For others he has less doubt. When writing of the death of a brother he refers to him as "enthroned on high," as happy in the eternal ecstasy of praise, as one who has been translated (593). In another he bids friends not to mourn for a departed brother who has successfully finished the stormy voyage of life (594). Whilst life on the whole is regarded as a time of trial, a vale of tears, a weary road, as consisting of a few lurid mornings, as an absence from God, a prison of clay, and so on, many of the hymns breathe a tone of cheerful resignation and confident hope, a desire to be with God and the saints, a firm trust in a blessed immortality and a calm repose in the promises of the Saviour. But we find an incongruity between the recognition of an ever-present God in this life, and the thought that while we are in this world we are away from him, but that death will bring us into association with him. A few of the hymns plainly teach us the doctrine of a bodily, or at least of a material, resurrection, as for example, 583 in which we are told that the ashes of the saints shall "lie, Waiting for the summons from on high." Heaven is represented as a place of rapturous enjoyment. The nations "under ground" are called upon to awake and the saints to "ascend the skies." In another hymn a brother is spoken of as "translated." In one of Watts's hymns heaven is envisaged as having a distinctly material existence. There are "sweet fields," "never-with'ring flowers," there is no night in that region and spring is "everlasting." There are "heaven-built walls," "pearly gates," "streets of shining gold," and "Sabbaths without end." No labor needs to be done in that place, there are gardens with "goodly walks," and so on. Heaven is named the New Jerusalem, which is plainly a transference into modern times of the description given by the Revelator of what he saw in an ecstatic vision. More than a score of hymns are devoted to descriptions of heaven. On the other hand only a few deal with the judgment, one of these being a part of the well known *Dies iræ*; this is given in two different versions, one of them being by Sir Walter Scott in the *Lay of the Last Minstrel*. This materialism is prominent in many selections, and

is doubtless due to the difficulty, if not impossibility, of forming a conception of a purely spiritual existence. As man has had experience only in the affairs of humanity, language has, strictly speaking, no terms for conditions in which divinity dwells. The Deity is envisaged as a man who is free from the limitations of mortality, but not otherwise different; and his abode is imaginatively depicted in the same way. We can conceive of spirit only through its effects; which is tantamount to saying that in its essence we cannot conceive it at all. This was the thought Christ had in mind when he said to Nicodemus: "The wind bloweth where it listeth." As a statement of a supposed fact in physics it was erroneous, but the sense in which it was to be understood is evident enough. That the wind blows where it pleases is true only in so far as we cannot predict with certainty in what direction it will blow at any given time in the future. The intimate relation existing between wind, breath, spirit, and the Holy Ghost is likewise evident from other passages. In John 20, 22 Christ breathes upon his disciples and says: "Receive ye the Holy Ghost." This incident is referred to in hymn 30 of the earlier edition, although it is not in the latest. As in Greek mythology, God is conceived as delighting in song, praise and prayer. "O for a thousand tongues to sing," exclaims Charles Wesley where he evidently means, a thousand voices.

In the First Book of the Iliad we are informed that "all day long they worshipped the god with music, singing the beautiful pæan, the sons of the Achæans, making music to the Far-darter." In the Homeric Hymn to Apollo the career and exploits of the god are set forth at length, and he is conceived as delighting in song and dance. So in 500 the Saviour is besought "by his helpless infant years," his "life of want and tears," his "days of sore distress," his "sacred griefs," and so forth, to hear the solemn litany of the worshippers. According to Herodotus, when the messengers of the Athenians appeared at the shrine of Apollo in Delphi to invoke his aid against the invader they received a very discouraging response. So they declared their intention to remain until they died unless they should obtain a more favorable answer. They had nothing to give; their sole plea was their helplessness. We have the same feelings set forth in the sentiment: "In my hands no price I bring; Simply to Thy cross I cling." In 280 the Saviour is besought for help for fourteen reasons,

or events narrated in his career in the New Testament. God and Christ are often personified as "Love Divine," as the "Incarnate Word," as the "Spirit of Holiness," and in other like terms. Whilst in 2 God is invited to come into the presence of his worshippers, in 6 they are summoned to bow before his "awful throne." In 7 the idea is the same wherein he is invited to accept the "tribute which we bring." Phrases of this kind are of frequent occurrence, although the metaphors are at times a good deal mixed. In 19 God is personified as a Fountain whence all blessings flow, but to which songs of praise are to be rendered. Farther on he is called a Mount of Redeeming Love. In 21 Christ is praised as the creator of body and soul, but also as a Lamb. In 25 God dies; the Lamb is crucified; the saint reposes on Jesus' breast. In 29 men are counseled to thank God for touches of pain, since they are reminders that perfect bliss is not to be had on earth. In many hymns there is present the thought that God delights in the homage and expressions of loyalty on the part of his subjects; but in the nature of the case this homage can be only that of heart and voice, not such homage as is manifested by tangible gifts.

Many of the selections are wholly free from dogma and are interdenominational in tone. They are purely spiritualistic or theistic and free from materialistic ingredients of any sort. In the latest edition, compared with the next preceding, Whittier's contributions are increased from two to seven; Faber's from nine to twelve; Samuel Longfellow's remain the same and only Bryant's show a decrease from eight to four. We need to remember, however, that the new book contains only about 750 selections, as against nearly 1,150 in the old; the difference there becomes more marked. Newman's "Lead, kindly Light" is in both volumes. As is well known he and Faber went from the Anglican to the Romish church. I have counted eighteen hymns dealing with the Trinity in the older book of which twelve are omitted from the new; nor do I find that they have been replaced by others. Eighty-five hymns are by female authors, most of them, however, furnishing but one. The larger contingent is chiefly by unmarried women. This proportion must be considered remarkable when we take into account that more than one-half of the verse in our current periodical publications is by women. Miss Proctor and Miss Auber are credited with three hymns each; Miss Elliott with six; Miss Winkworth with seven; Miss Havergal with eight, and Fanny Crosby with five.

Miss Crosby must be considered as somewhat exceptional on account of her blindness; besides, she was married comparatively late in life, although she is said to have written three thousand religious lyrics. How shall we account for the paucity of female contributors, seeing that women are more emotional than men and the great interest they take in the affairs of the churches? For one reason, secular occupations occupy the thoughts of married women more than of men. Although more emotional by temperament and more demonstrative, their emotions are less profound than those of the so-called stronger sex. That comparatively few women commit suicide is evidence of this. Love for her children as long as they need her care doubtless often prevents a mother from destroying herself even under the most desperate circumstances; while motherhood furnishes an external object upon which her emotions are concentrated. This fact, it may be, hinders the complete immergence into the religious feelings. It is also probable that the power of concentration is less in women than in men. That her education has generally been inferior to that of men cannot have had much weight.

It is surprising to what an extent Christian hymnology has been influenced by the Bible. A pretty careful examination of the first thousand selections in the edition of '78 reveals the fact that more than eight hundred contain references to biblical passages, while still more betray the influence of King James' version. It is plain that the contributors to this collection, and therefore all writers of English hymns, were so familiar with the dogmas of Protestantism as connected with or built upon statements found in the Sacred Book, and especially with the simple diction of the above-named version that no sooner do they attempt to give rhythmic expression to their religious emotions than the vocabulary and the images found in the Bible come trooping into their memories. The same thought frequently occurs in half a dozen different hymns and occasionally oftener. On the whole more than fifteen hundred scripture texts are used. In the latest edition the references are proportionately somewhat less. The older novelists who have essayed to portray the religious and moral life of the English people during the latter half of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth, rate the effects of the Wesleyan movement rather low. On the other hand, the later authors, such as George Eliot, Quiller-Couch and Miss Braddon take a more favorable view.

The more recent historians, notably Mr. Lecky, in his history, are on the side of the latter. In fact the regenerative power of the movement is coming to be more and more recognized as distance in time and greater accuracy of information have dispelled the prejudice and ignorance, the latter often willful, of the adherents of the Anglican church. We have seen a similar reversal of public opinion in the history of the Salvation Army. Modern facilities for the spread of knowledge have enabled the public to understand rapidly and to appreciate more quickly the results of the reforms inaugurated by the founder of this branch of the church militant. When one reads the few lines composed by Charles Wesley at the very close of life: "In age and feebleness extreme, Who shall a helpless worm redeem? Jesus my only help thou art, Strength of my failing flesh and heart; O could I catch one smile from thee and drop into eternity!" and compares them with the earlier: "How happy are they who their Saviour obey, And have laid up their treasure above," the difference is plainly due to the moodiness of their author. Longfellow exhibits a similar unwillingness to depart. Here the trinitarian and the unitarian meet on common ground. Although Tennyson must be classed with the latter, his *Crossing the Bar* comes very near to an expression of trust in a personal Saviour. In all three there is the same hesitating confidence, if the phrase be permissible, the same conviction that we embrace by faith and faith alone what we cannot prove. In another hymn Wesley speaks of rising on "faith's strong eagle pinions, To scale the Mount of God." So likewise: "To patient faith the prize is sure," for "That great mysterious Deity, We soon with open face shall see." We find the same fundamental idea in those wonderful lines of Goethe with which he closes *Faust*: "Alles Vergaengliche Ist nur ein Gleichniss; Das Unzulaengliche Hier wird Ereigniss; Das Unbeschreibliche Hier ist's gethan; Das Ewig-Weibliche Zieht uns hinan." This is probably the most thoughtful score of words in any language. Goethe was in so far un-German as the desire for practical efficiency and material achievement was continually striving for the mastery with a penchant toward a contemplative life. After *Faust* has tried in vain to find internal peace in the quest for knowledge and sensual pleasure he finds it at last in providing the means for a livelihood for thousands of human beings. All that comes in contact with our sense is but symbolism, phenomenon, while the reality must forever remain beyond

our intellectual comprehension. It is this strange intermingling of the practical with the sentimental that is so strikingly characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon psyche. After all our investigations and our seeming wisdom, there are depths that our faith alone can fathom, or at least regions into which faith only can penetrate. The Slav is sentimental and emotional; at his best he wants to reform himself and society; yet he has thus far failed to do either. The South-European, especially the Frenchman, endeavors to make the feelings conform to the logical categories of the mind. We have the same story in Italy, in France, in Spain. Although all these nations have learned somewhat by experience, this cannot yet be affirmed of Russia or Poland. Those of us who are inclined to be constantly on the lookout for facts may have little sympathy with the idealism which projects itself so far and so persistently into the spirit world; albeit we cannot help but admit that this power has played a leading part in shaping the destiny of the Anglo-Saxon people. While it is not the dogma of the mediæval church personified in the Virgin Mary, we are probably not far astray if we affirm that the sexual factor unconsciously plays a hitherto unsuspected part in modern life. It is the *Ewig-weibliche* apprehended as a purely spiritual essence rather than as a sexual force however sublimated. It is a notable feature of the English novel that the regenerating power of woman's love appears under countless manifestations and in every condition of life. Whilst the Anglo-Saxon takes life seriously and is wont to speak of this world as a "vale of tears," he is never quite ready to leave it. He rarely faces death with the stolidity of the Slav or the nonchalance of the Frenchman. In the last hours, whether rationalist or Christian, he is serious; or we may say that both are at such a time equally religious. The love of life; the joy of existence; the pleasure growing out of fruitful activity are blessings he is loth to forego. The strongest Christian faith cannot quite overcome this reluctance. When brought face to face with the prospect of dissolution a vigorous personality almost invariably asserts itself. It shrinks from the thought of immergence into the universal soul of the cosmos. On the other hand, the average Christian, the man whose personality is but feebly developed passes into the Unknown with but little consideration of what is before him. He is content to submit to the will of God in death as in life. The idea of individual responsibility is given up and cast upon "Him who is able to save to the uttermost." Accord-

ing to the peculiar imagery called into existence by the scheme of redemption the saints are "washed whiter than snow" in the "blood of the Lamb." Yet in the same hymn (619) we are told that "Them the Lamb shall always feed, sustain them with the tree of life and lead them to the living fountains." While this sentiment is expressed in one of Wesley's lyrics, it occurs in one of Cowper's likewise. "There is a fountain fill'd with blood, Drawn from Immanuel's veins." This hymn is pervaded throughout by this singular sentiment, no less than four of its five stanzas mentioning it. The ideas that find an outlet in such imagery seem due to invasions of the psyche by the subliminal consciousness that had been previously saturated with the figurative language of the Hebrew prophet, and some of the books of the New Testament. One is inclined to fall back upon the dictum of Socrates that the poets utter many fine sentiments without knowing what they are saying, because they are moved by a sort of unconscious enthusiasm. What does Joel mean when he tells us that "The mountains shall drop down sweet wine and the hills shall flow with milk . . . and a fountain shall come forth out of the Lord," or the Psalmist when he declares that "The mountains skipped like rams, The little hills like young sheep?" The Hebrew and Arabian poets are fond of indulging in the most fantastic and far-fetched comparisons such as we do not find among the Aryans whose imagination is always under the control of the reason: even when aloft in their most fantastic flights, they never lose sight of the earth. Yet Herder, and many men since his time, tell us that this is true poetry because it is wholly spontaneous and unartificial. After the mind of the poet has become thoroughly saturated with these borrowed fancies, or at least with its phraseology, what he writes is no longer tested by the canons of reason; it is almost pure repetition. Modern thought is permeated and to some extent modified by the conceptions of the earlier and simpler age. The contents of the mind are dealt with as with objective facts and the most extravagant symbolism is treated as if it represented the reality. The exuberance of the fancy is such that it stifles the regulative faculty. To such a mind as that of Hume or Kant, but especially that of Schopenhauer or Comte, language of this sort is pure nonsense. Mediæval theology like all mediæval thought took but little account of facts; it built upon the words of the biblical record rather than upon reality, its system of theology. This system has projected itself far

into modern religion and received its popular interpretation through the medium of Christian hymns. Words to which has been given a musical and rhythmic setting will carry far and live long, whether they mean anything or not. This was often ludicrously evident among the slaves of the South with whom melodies sometimes came into existence spontaneously and were unctuously sung although they meant absolutely nothing. The poetic or imaginative faculty is essentially a faculty of primitive and early life. Almost all the poets wrote as well at twenty as at fifty. Many persons have composed verses of considerable merit in their younger years who wholly discontinued the practice after a while. The imagination was gradually overmastered by the reason. Goethe was one of the very few men who could look at facts with the eye of a poet and also of a scientist. We may say that he wore one pair of spectacles as an investigator and another as a writer and could change them at will. But they did not exhibit the objective world in the same light.

Generally speaking, the individual passes through the same mental process in the course of his development which the race has passed through; for it is well known that all the earlier literatures are poetic. Only in exceptional cases is this law inoperative. Not only a considerable number of poets, but most hymn writers have rested at the earlier stage. Hence the Apocalypse has been a fruitful fountain of inspiration. In the edition of '78 more than one hundred selections embody ideas expressed in it. This is about the same number as the four Gospels with their more sober, narrative tone.

Few persons are given to introspection, or even capable of honestly conducting such a proceeding; few persons are therefore aware of the extent to which their lives are dominated by their feelings. To most persons it seems a distinct loss when they have been thrust out of the warm and comforting atmosphere of the emotions into the cold region of intellectuality. The emotional life is stimulated by unity of sentiment and by the rhythmic cadence of verse. The combined emotional force of ten persons is greater than would be produced by adding one to the other; it would be more nearly represented by ten multiplied into ten. *Vires crescunt eundo*. When the disciples were "with one accord in one place," we are told, "there came a sound as of a rushing, mighty wind and filled all the house where they were sitting." Then came upon them the spirit of prophecy, and so on. This emo-

tional bliss is expressed by Bernard of Clairvaux in the lyric strain : " Of him who did salvation bring, I could forever think and sing ;" and by another poet thus : " O could I ever stay in such a frame as this, I'd sing myself away To everlasting bliss," although the latter is not in our collection. The extraordinary power the emotions have over the intellect is well exemplified by the experience of Benjamin Franklin under the overpowering eloquence of Whitefield. He tells us in his autobiography that on one occasion, after listening for a short time to one of his sermons, he discovered that a collection would be taken and resolved not to give a penny. A little later he decided to give the copper coins he had about him, then the silver, but finally when the hat was passed, he emptied his pocket into it—copper, silver and gold. An acquaintance of his had purposely fortified himself against the sway of his feeling by taking no money with him. However, on listening to the eloquent pleas of the preacher, he regretted his parsimony and asked a neighbor for a loan. The latter refused on the ground that the would-be borrower was not in his right senses. Franklin thinks that he was the only person in all the throng who remained unaffected. His testimony shows that he considered the man who had his feelings completely under control altogether exceptional. As for Franklin himself, we know that he had hardly a trace of idealism in his mental make-up. From his earliest youth he always kept himself " well in hand." Still we might suppose that in his earlier years he would be somewhat more pliable than later. This incident seems, however, to have taken place when he was more than thirty years of age, at a period, therefore, when his mental development was complete. Double mentality is plainly expressed in many English hymns. In most of the German hymns the quietistic element predominates ; hence among them social and moral reforms have originated less frequently with avowedly religious people, especially among the clergy, than in England. The Englishman, like the heroes of Marathon, prays before he fights. He prays for strength to fight rather than to endure. Oliver Cromwell and " Chinese " Gordon were typical religious enthusiasts. Both fought with the Bible in one hand and the sword in the other. The former had enemies enough at home and could not therefore go abroad ; the latter had no foes to meet in battle at home and therefore fought them in foreign lands. If Cromwell had been born in 1833 and Gordon in 1599 it is probable that each would in the main have exhibited the traits of the other.

Both John Wesley and "General" Booth engaged all their lives in fighting the devil, although they did not use carnal weapons.

The Catholic hears mass when about to enter the peril of battle, but the ceremony has a less personal appeal than a spontaneous prayer. It is well known that the English language has no equivalent for *Gemueth*; but the *Gemueth* may be religious as well as social. The Englishman is more reserved, less bound to his fellows, more dependent upon himself than any other man of modern times. Wesley got his mystical ideas from the German Moravians; but they stimulated him to exert himself for the salvation of his fellow-men rather than to bear the trials that Providence might send upon him. The sentiment expressed by Watts: "Sure, I must fight if I would win, Increase my courage, Lord!" is thoroughly English. The Imitation of Christ has never been a favorite book with the Anglo-Saxon people. Many of our histories of literature tell us that it is the most read volume next after the Bible. If this be true, it does not apply to English Protestants, among whom it is rarely to be found.

Although Bunyan was himself a man of peace, his Christian was not fully equipped for his journey until he had been provided with a coat of mail. This enabled him to persevere to the end. On the other hand, Faithful, who had not been thus equipped, ended his career "midway in life."

One cannot help but recognize a broad catholicity in this book which is characteristic of modern Protestantism in general. There is an undertone of insistence upon the observance of certain ceremonies and of holding certain beliefs, but they are not made conspicuous. In contrast herewith is the insistence of the Romish church upon the dogma that salvation is attainable only by those who accept its creed and comply with certain formulas. "*Extra ecclesiam non est salus*," is still held to be as true as it was in the days of St. Cyprian, although "*ecclesia*" is held to be both inclusive and exclusive as well. Hence it was a natural inference, if not formally taught, that the only thing necessary to salvation for even the greatest sinner in wordly deeds, was an orthodox belief. The history of the mediæval church abundantly testifies that men expected to be saved who had been guilty of almost every form of moral turpitude. The Methodist Hymnal insists that he alone is in possession of the true faith who shows it by his works. In the earlier edition two hymns refer to the passage in

Acts 4:12 where Christ is spoken of as the only name under heaven through which men can be saved, but both are omitted from the latest. There is further evidence of catholicity in the decreased prominence given to the doctrine of the Trinity. I have noted eighteen hymns in the earlier edition in which this doctrine is embodied and that of this number ten have been omitted from that of 1905. When we take into account the relative size of the two books the proportion of omissions is greater than would be indicated by these numbers. It is probable that religious lyricism has reached its limit. A glance through this Hymnal shows only a very few of its contributors were alive in 1900, whilst the great majority belong to the preceding century. The possibilities of the field are well nigh exhausted. Nor can the volume be called "Wesley's Hymns," as only about one-sixth of the number are by Charles and about a score by John. In fact it is doubtful whether the more famous brother composed any, although he translated and adapted several, chiefly from the German. His emotions found utterance in physical activity rather than in contemplation. A dozen are by A. W. Faber; twice as many by Doddridge; almost threescore by Watts; a score by Montgomery, and a dozen by John Newton. With the exception of those contributed by women almost all are by clergymen. The large preponderance of the Wesleys no longer obtains in the new book. The hymns by Charles are reduced from 308 to 121, and those by John from 31 to 19.

RELIGION AND SENSUALISM AS CONNECTED BY CLERGYMEN.

THEODORE SCHROEDER.

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That there exists a psychic co-relation between religion and lust has been a matter of frequent surmise. The paucity of discussion concerning it, is mainly due to fear of the public's intellectual inhospitality. In the mob, absence of scientific zeal for truth, the presence of religious bigotry, and an unsuspected ignorance of psychology, combine to make it resent all analysis of religious emotions, such as tend to expose its sexual origin, or destroy its evidentiary value as a support for theologies and for moral sentimentalizing.

In the course of my own protracted studies, some time ago, I was made glad by discovering some of Prof. Louba's work, who it seems to me has discussed our present topic with more truly scientific candor and keener psychologic insight than any other person whom I have read. While it appears to me that in these respects he has left such critics as Prof. James far in the rear, yet like others he has erred under the unconscious influence of undue conservatism.

The fault which I see in all present studies, which have come under my observation, is that the student has been too much dominated by the special view point of the alienist, and the materials investigated in this connection have been chiefly of the kind which most naturally attract and arrest the attention of such specialists. The result of this has been that the connection of religion and lust (so far as I have observed) has always been treated exclusively as a matter of the pathology of religion, assuming it to be wholly dissociated from the ordinary religious experiences, where a broader outlook would have considered the pathologic phenomena as a mere key to the interpretation of the riddle of religion in its more normal aspects.

Here it is my intention to quote some opinions connecting religion and lust, and owing to the necessary limit of a magazine essay, I have

chosen to quote only the opinions of clergymen. For several reasons these seemed to me to be the most important; first, because these men had better opportunity for personal observation of the phenomena commented upon; and second, because their view point left them uninfluenced by the mental predisposition so natural to the alienists and even other psychologists; third, because their deductions have been made from religious experiences that usually were quite normal or in the borderland, and seldom included the cases which are clearly pathological; fourth, their whole interest has been to support religion, and their admission are all against that interest.

From these opinions, and other studies, I will, at the close of this essay, state a well supported working hypothesis for a psychologic solution of the whole riddle of religion. Later I hope to give some substantial support toward a demonstration of the correctness of this hypothesis.

In his time, and for some time after, the Rev. Henry More, D. D., (1614-1687) was as highly esteemed as any man in Europe both for his learning and piety. All important books on literary history and philosophy have contained eulogistic remarks about him. The extent of the enthusiasm he evoked may be shown by the remark of Dr. Outram, who said, that he "looked upon More as the holiest person upon the face of the earth." Among other things Dr. More (Philophilus Parresias) wrote, "A Discourse of the Nature, Causes, Kinds and Cure of Enthusiasms." In his introduction in hinting at the connection between enthusiasm and fleshly passions he tells us that he has omitted much, thinking it better to let the guilty go free than to endanger the innocent. While many of his allusions and discussions are deeply veiled yet enough appears that is plain and to the point. He points out, what is known to modern students of sexual psychopathy, that fits of unusual depression and exaltation often alternate in cases of sexual derangement. Aside from this we will quote a few paragraphs which he permitted to go into the text in spite of his assurance of expurgation. In reading the following paragraphs the connection between melancholy, ecstatic exaltation, and sexual derangement should be constantly borne in mind, as explanatory of that which is recorded. Some of the italics in all that follows are mine.

"And when men talk so much of the Spirit, if they take notice what they ordinarily mean by it, it is nothing else but a strong and

impetuous emotion whereby they are zealously and fervently carried in matters of Religion: So that *Fervour*, Zeal, and Spirit is in effect all one. Now no Complexion is so hot as Melancholy when it is heated, being like boiling water, as Aristotle observes. So that it transcends the flame of fire, or it is like heated stone or iron when they are red hot, for they are then more hot by far than a burning Coal."

After quoting some more from Aristotle he writes of the enthusiast as, "being as it were drunk with a new wine drawn from that cellar of his own that lies in the lowest region of his body, though he is not aware of it."

Further on he continues thus: "For the sense of Love at large is eminently comprehended in the temper of the *Melancholist*. Melancholy and wine being of so near a nature one to the other, but wine makes men amorous; which the Philosopher proves in that a man in wine will kiss such persons as a sober man would scarce touch with a pair of tongs, by reason of their age and ugliness. And assuredly it was the fumes of Melancholy that infatuated the fancy of a late new fangled Religionist, when he sat so kindly by a Gypsie under an hedge, and put his hand into her bosom in a fit of devotion, and vaunted afterwards of it as if it had been a very pious and meritorious action."

"But now that Melancholy partakes much of the nature of wine, he evinces from that it is so spiritous; and that it is so spiritous, from that it is so spumeous; and that Melancholy is flatuous or spiritous, he appeals to the Physitians. Wherefore the Philosopher assigns another companion to *Venus* besides the plump youth *Bacchus*, which the Poets bestow upon her, who, though more seemingly sad, yet will prove as faithful an attendant as that other, and this is Melancholy.

"Now besides this Flatulencie that solicits to lust, there may be such a due dash of Sanguine in the Melancholy, that the complexion may prove stupendiously enravishing. For that more sluggish *Dulcour* of the blood will be sometime so quickened and actuated by the fiercenness and Sharpness of the Melancholy humour (as the fulsome-ness of sugar is by the acrimony of Lemons), that it will afford farre more sensible pleasure; and all the imaginations of love, of what kind soever, will be farre more lively and vigorous, more piercing and rap-

turous, than they can be in pure Sanguine itself. From this complexion are poets, and the more highly pretending *Enthusiasts*; Betwixt whom this is the great difference, that a *Poet* is an *Enthusiast* in jest, and an *Enthusiast* is a *Poet* in good earnest; Melancholy prevailing so much with him, that he takes his no better then Poeticall fits, and figments, for divine inspiration and reall truth."

"But that it is a mere naturall flatuous and spiritous temper with a proportionable *Dosis* of Sanguine added to their Melancholy, not the pure Spirit of God that thus inacts them; is plainly to be discovered not onely in their language, which is very sweet and melting, as if sugar plums lay under their tongue, but from notorious circumstances of their lives. And in my apprehension it will be a sufficient pledge of this truth if we set before our eyes those that have the most highly pretended to the Spirit, and that have had the greatest power to delude the people. For that pride and rumour of minds whereby they are so confidently carried out to professe, as well as to conceive so highly of themselves, that no lesse Title must serve their turns, then that of *God, the Holy-Ghost, or paraclet, the Messias, the last and chiefest prophet, the Judge of the quick and the dead*, and the like; that all this comes from Melancholy is by a lower kind of working of that complexion. For to begin with the first of these Impostours, *Simon Magus*, who gave out that he was *God the father*, he prov'd himself to be but a wretched lecherous man by that inseparable companion of his, *Helena*, whom he called *Selene*; and affirmed to be one of the *Divine Powers*, when she was no better than a lewd Strumpet. There was also one *Menander*, a *Samaritan*, that vaunted himself to be the *Saviour of the World*, a maintainer of the same licentious and impure opinions with *Simon*. *Montanus* professed himself to be the *Spirit of God*, but that it was the spirit of Melancholy that besotted him, his two drabs *Prisca* and *Maximilla* evidently enough declare, who are said to leave their own husbands to follow him. We might adde a third, one *Quintilla*, a woman of no better fame and an intimate acquaintance of the other two, from whence the *Montanists* were also called *Quintillians*. *Manes* also held himself to be the true *Paraclet*, but left a sect behind him indoctrinated in all licentious and filthy principles. *Mahomet* more successefull then any, the last and chiefest Prophet that ever came into the world (if you will believe him), that he was Melancholy, his Epelepticall fits are one argument, and his per-

mission of plurality of wives and concubines, his lascivious descriptions of the joys of heaven or Paradise, another."

After numerous other references which for want of space I must here omit, he continues his reflections with the following words which I will make my closing quotation from this author.

"We have I think by a sufficient Induction discovered the condition and causes of this mysterious mockery of Enthusiastical love in the highest workings of it, and shown how it is but in effect a *natural* complexion, as very often Religious zeal in general is discovered to be: As is also observable from the tumultuous *Anabaptists in Germany*; For amongst other things that they contended for, this was not least, to wit, a freedome to have many wives: So that it should seem that for the most part this religious heat in men, as it arises merely from nature, is like *Aurum fulminans*, which though it flie upward somewhat, the greatest force when it is fired is found to go downward. This made that religious sect of the *Beguardi* conceit that it was a sin to kiss a woman, but none at all to lie with her. The same furnisht *Carpocrates* and *Apelles*, two busie sectaries in their time, the one with his *Marcellina*, the other with his *Philumena* to spend their lust upon."

"Moreover for these Rapturous and Enthusiasticall affections *even in them that are truly good and pious, it cannot be denied but that the fuell of them is usually naturall or contracted Meluncholy*, which any man may perceive that is religious, unlesse his Soul and Body be blended together, and there be a confusion of all; as it is in mistaken *Enthusiasts* that impute that to God which is proper to Nature." (Enthusiasmus Triumphatus, pp. 16 to 59.)

The "profoundly pious and learned" John Smith (1618-1652), of Cambridge, in one of his discourses on the shortness of pharasaical righteousness, hints quite unmistakably at a connection between spiritual and sensual enthusiasm. He is writing of experiences that "may seem to be true operations of the divine life; when yet all this is nothing else but the energy of their own self love, touched with some *fleshly apprehensions of divine things and excited by them*. There are such things in our Christian religion, when a carnal, unhallowed mind takes the chair and gets the expounding of them, may seem *very delicious to the fleshly appetites of men*. . . . True religion is no piece of artifice; it is no boiling up of our imaginative powers, nor the *glowing*

heats of passion, though these are too often mistaken for it." (Requoted from Edwards Religious Affection, p. 153-4.)

In the eighteenth century Bishop Lavington (1683-1762) reports one Mr. Norris (probably the Rev. Joseph Norris), "an ingenious and good man," as writing: "There is an amorous principle in a man which must necessarily have an object; and he thinks persons of the most amorous affections the most likely to make spiritual lovers. In the love of God, as 't is a passion, the motion of the will is attended with a sensible commotion of the spirit and estuation of the blood. 'Tis an experimental truth that passion is a great instrument of devotion." (Re-quoted from Enthusiasm of Methodists, Part 3, p. 199.)

Bishop Lavington, after making an elaborate study of religious enthusiasm, records it as his own opinion that: "*These excesses of spiritual and carnal affections are nearer allied than is generally thought, arising from the irregular emotions of the blood and the animal spirits, and the patient is hurried on either way according to the nature of the object. And I am much mistaken, and so is history too, if some of the warmest and most enthusiastic pretenders to the love of God have not entertained the same violent passion (not quite so spiritual) for some of their neighbors.*" (Enthusiasm of Methodists, part 1, p. 59.)

"Persons of amorous complexion are as likely as any to fall into enthusiasms, particularly with respect to the same strange transports of divine love. *From a similitude and close correspondence of this passion, considered as natural and religious, we hear, in such case of such 'meltings, languishments, huggings and close embraces of the Deity, such raptures, tumults, sinkings, swoonings, despairings, and distractions and loss of senses.'* Plutarch describes a lover as 'burning, pale, trembling, seized with a vertigo. Is not this (says he) a manifest, inspired fury, a divine possession, an agitation of the soul?'" (Enthusiasm of Methodists, part 3, p. 198-199.)

The Reverend author of the "Parable of the ten virgins, very often intimates an observed connection between religion and lust. I present one sample. After quoting Jude 4, concerning "men turning the grace of our God into lasciviousness" he says: "It is too common for men, at the first work of conversion, Oh, then the cry for grace and Christ, and afterwards grow licentious."

(Shepherd's Parables, etc., requoted from Edwards' Religious Affection, p. 315.)

The Rev. John Wesley, of Methodist fame, tells us that, "young converts are very apt to ascribe to the operation of the Holy Ghost, what is owing to the mechanism of the body." (See Church's Farther Remarks, p. 128-129, cited by Lavington on Enthusiasm, etc., p. 106, part 2.) May not the old convert, with great enthusiasm, be doing the same thing?

The Rev. Jonathan Edwards (1703-1758), the distinguished father of the "Great New England Awakening" of the 18th century, had unexcelled opportunity for viewing revival excitements from within the circle of the elect. The literature of that period is full of covert insinuations of the sensual joy and irregularities which accompanied the "spiritual" enthusiasm of the converts. In very chaste and guarded language Dr. Edwards confesses to the irregularities, and with the guilelessness of a child seeks to explain that this is Satan's interference with and imitation of God's work.

He says: "There are three things I would take notice of with regard to the experiences of Christians, by which the devil has many advantages against us. The first thing is the mixture there oftimes is in the experiences of true Christians, whereby when they have truly gracious experiences and divine and spiritual discoveries and exercises, *they have something else mixed with them, besides what is spiritual.* There is a mixture of that which is natural and that which is corrupt, with that which is divine. . . . And, indeed, *it is not to be supposed that Christians ever have any experiences in this world that are wholly pure, entirely spiritual, without any mixture of what is natural and carnal.*" . . .

"The things, of all which there is frequently some mixture with gracious experiences, yea, with very great and high experiences, are these three, human or natural affection and passion, impressions of the imagination, and a degree of self-righteousness or spiritual pride. There is very often with that which is spiritual a great mixture of that affection or passion which arises from natural principles, so that nature has a very great hand in those vehement notions and flights of the passions that appear. The novelty of things, or the sudden transition from an opposite extreme, and many other things that might be mentioned, greatly contribute to the raising of the passions. And sometimes there is not only a mixture of that which is common and natural with gracious experience, but even that which is animal, that which is

in a great measure from the body, and is properly the result of the animal frame.

“*The children of God are not loved purely for Christ’s sake, but there may be a great mixture of that natural love that many sects of heretics have boasted of. . . . Yea, there may be a mixture of natural love to the opposite sex, with Christian and divine love. . . .*

“It appears to be very probable that many of the heresies that have arisen, and sects that have appeared in the Christian world, with wild, enthusiastical notions and practices, began at first by these means, that it was such a degenerating of experiences that first gave rise to them, or at least led the way to them. . . .

“The unhappy person that is subject to such a degeneracy, is not sensible of his own calamity; but *because he finds himself still violently moved, and greater heat of zeal, and more vehement motions of his animal spirits, thinks himself fuller of the spirit of God than ever.*” . . .

“And so love to the brethren may by degrees come to be but little else but fondness, and zeal for a party; *yea, through a mixture of a natural love to the opposite sex, may degenerate more and more until it issues in that which is criminal and gross.* And I leave it with those who are better acquainted with ecclesiastical history, to inquire whether such a degeneracy of affections as this, might not be the first thing that led that way, and gave occasion to the rise of the abominable notions of some sects that have arisen, concerning the community of women. However, that is, yet certainly the mutual embraces and kisses of persons of different sexes, under the notion of Christian love and holy kisses, are utterly to be disallowed, as having the most direct tendency *quickly to turn Christian love into unclean and brutish lust, which will not be the better—but ten times the worse—for being christened by the name of Christian love.*

“I should also think it advisable that meetings of young people of both sexes, in the evening by themselves, without a minister or any other elder people amongst them for religious exercises, should be avoided. . . . As a lively, solemn sense of divine things on the minds of young persons may gradually decay, so there will be danger that an ill improvement of these meetings may gradually prevail; if not in any unsuitable behavior while together in meeting, yet when they break up to go home, they may *naturally consort together* in couples for other than religious purposes.”

(A narrative of many surprising Conversions, by Jonathan Edwards, pp. 279-292, edition of 1832, Worcester.)

In another volume Dr. Edwards again refers to this subject and says: "On the one hand it must be observed, that not everything which in any respect appertains to spiritual affections, is new and entirely different from what natural men can conceive of and do experience; some things are common to gracious affections with other affections; many circumstances, appendages and effects are common." . . .

"It was before observed, that the affection of love is, as it were, the fountain of all affection; and particularly that Christian love is the fountain of all gracious affection. . . . There are many high affections, great seeming love and rapturous joys which have nothing of this holy relish belonging to them."

Farther on in the same volume he is writing of how "gracious affections soften the heart and are attended and followed with a Christian tenderness of spirit." After elaborating how they thus come to consider their position to be thus made safe, they favor themselves more and "more easily yield to temptations and the solicitations of their lusts." (Religious Affections, p. 140-154-179-314.)

Charles Chauncey, D. D. (1705-1787), gives us much of the "dangerous tendency" observed by him in the "awakening" for which Jonathan Edwards was so largely responsible. He writes of the use of scripture texts to justify "a liberty hereupon taken to have communion not only with other men's goods but wives also." Then he describes with some detail the swoonings and contortions, saying: "In some cases accompanied with indecencies I shan't mention," and sometimes "opening such a horrible scene as can scarce be described in words." Farther on comes the account of a man in a revival meeting who had so hard a fight with the devil that he "stripped off his upper garments." . . . "Nay, some have been made sensible, their joy was nothing more than a mere sensitive passion, and have owned they were under a delusion, while they imagined it was of divine origin. . . . Sure I am, that the sudden looseness of their lives answering their ignorant loose ungospel-like doctrine, did certify me that the spirit of comfort, was not their comforter;" Of some others it is said by him they were guilty of even "fouler sins which I here name not." Again he says that the loving kindness of God vented itself "by congratulations in the way of kissing, etc. They continued in a sort of

extasie, either lying as though in a sleep, or uttering extatic expressions of joy, of the love of Christ, and the love to him."

(Seasonable thoughts on the State of Religion in New England [Boston, 1734], Preface and pages 63 to 132).

Dr. La Roy Sunderland, a famous Methodist revivalist, of a century ago observed the fact that his converts were almost exclusively young women, he being then a youth. In later years, having in the meantime "left the ministry," he hinted his explanation of this fact by saying, "human characteristics easily accounted for." (Idiology, p, 80, v. 2.)

Rev. Frederick Robertson (1816-1853), in one of his essays says: "*The devotional feelings are often singularly allied to the animal nature.* They conduct the unconscious victim of feelings that appear divine, into a state of life at which the world stands aghast; Fanaticism is always united with either excessive lewdness or desperate asceticism. The physiological performance of the generative function is sure to be attacked by religious bigotry." (Requoted from Brinton's Religious Sentiment, p. 61.)

The Rev. J. M. Wilson, the head master of Clifton College, England, when discussing the sexual vices of boyhood, remarks that boys whose temperament exposes them to these faults are usually far from destitute of religious feelings: *that there is and always has been an undoubted co-existence of religion and animalism; that emotional appeals and revivals are far from rooting out carnal sin; and that in some places, as is well known, they seem actually to stimulate, even at the present day, to increased licentiousness.* (Journal of Education, 1881, cited and re-estimated by Havelock Ellis.) In 1882, Spurgeon, the distinguished English divine, pointed out in one of his sermons, that by a strange yet natural law, *excess of spirituality is next door to sensuality.* (Psychology of Sex, [Modesty,] p. 232.)

Elder Frederick, the chief of the Shaker celibate establishment told William Hepworth Dixon, "that every great spiritual revival which has agitated America since his church was planted, has led to a new society being founded on the principles of Mother Ann. The eighteen unions represent eighteen revivals." (Free Love and its Votaries, p. 30-31.) This is a plain and distinct recognition by him of a connection between the abnormality of voluntary celibacy and revival emotion.

The Rev. John Humphrey Noyes, founder of the Oneida Free-Love Bible-communists, doubtless had unsurpassed opportunity of viewing from within the charmed circle the phenomenon we are studying. He reached the same conclusions as other observers already quoted, and expressed them thus :

“It is evident from what we have seen that revivals breed social revolutions. All the social irregularities reported in the papers followed in the train of revivals ; and so far as I know, all revivals have developed tendencies to such irregularities. . . . *Religious love is a very near neighbor to sex love, and they always get mixed in the intimacies and social excitement of revivals.* The thing a man wants, after he has found the salvation of his soul, is to find his Eve and his paradise. Hence, these wild experiments and terrible disasters.” He says further : “*Revivals lead to religious love ; religious love excites passions ; the converts finding themselves in theocratic liberty, begin to look about for mates and their paradise. Here begins divergence. If woman have the lead, the feminine idea that ordinary wedded love is carnal and unholy rises and becomes a ruling principle. Mating on the spiritual plan, with all the heights and depths of sentimental love, becomes the order of the day. Then, if a prudent Mother Ann [of the Shakers] is at the head of affairs, the sexes are fenced off from each other, and carry on their platonic intercourse through a grating. But if a wild Mary Lincoln or Lucina Humphreyville is in the ascendant, the presumptuous experiment of bundling is tried ; and the end is ruin. On the other hand, if the leaders are men, the theocratic impulse takes the opposite direction, and polygamy in some form is the result. Thus Mormonism is the masculine form, as Shakerism is the feminine form of the more morbid products of revivals.*” (Free-love and its Votaries, p. 30-31, Dixon’s Spiritual Wives, v. 2, p. 181.)

Rev. S. Baring Gould, the author of sixteen volumes, on “The Lives of the Saints,” besides many other kindred books, had great opportunity for knowing what history discloses on this subject. He says : “*Spiritual exaltation runs naturally, inevitably, into licentiousness, unless held in the iron bands of discipline to the moral law. . . . It is apparently a law that mysticism should rapidly pass from the stage of asceticism into that of license. At any rate such has been the invariable succession of stages in every mystic society that is allowed unchecked to follow its own course. In the Roman Church those thus*

psychologically affected are locked up in convents. . . . The mysticism of the gnostic sects, the mysticism of mediæval heretics almost invariably resolved itself into orgies of licentiousness. *The religious passion verges so closely on the sexual passion, that a slight additional pressure given to it bursts the partition, and both are confused in a frenzy of religious debauch.*" (Freaks of Fanaticism, pp. 14-267-268.)

The Rev. Geo. Wm. Knox, of the Union Theological Seminary writes: "From its emotional nature, religion lends itself readily to immorality, and to superstition. To immorality, because the religious feelings are akin to other feelings, and unless carefully discriminated, *are associated with sensuality*, fear, anger, cruelty and the like. Religion then gives its sanction to these passions, and forms a combination of terrible strength and evil. The religious feeling, like all others longs for gratification, is of great strength and may be readily misled into supposing itself gratified through the stimulation of other passions." (International Journal of Ethics, v. 12, p. 306.)

A study of years, has led me to the following conclusions of fact: Every intense and widespread religious revival has produced increased sexual irregularity. Every organized effort toward ostentatious sexuality has found its justification in religion. Here I have in mind those numerous small sects, such as the Adamites, with whom parade or worship in nudity was esteemed a duty to God; and those other anomalous creatures who go about wearing badges or uniforms, which unceasingly and ostentatiously advertise their claim to chastity. Were persons to announce through the newspapers their unseducible virginity, we would believe them sexually insane. When the same end is accomplished by conventional monastic methods of absurdly giving publicity to the same boast, we think nothing of it, only because we have become accustomed to it. Every concerted effort at the establishment of compulsory sexual excesses, either of repression or indulgence, has found its warrant in religion and its beginnings amid religious excitement. Every known type of sexual perversion, from sadist lust-mudering up and down, has been credited with the endorsement of some god, and practiced and sanctified by some religious society.

In the interpretation of the more normal phenomena of religious experience, I deem the foregoing matter of the highest importance, since I believe that what is thus shown to be conspicuously true of all intense religious experience must be true in proportionately lesser de-

gree of all religious experiences of lesser intensity. In the *Alienist and Neurologist* for August, 1907, phylogenetically considered, I suggested how in the stage of racial adolescence the human consciousness of sex-functioning necessarily evolved to sex-worship, and this to all other forms or religion. Here can only be suggested in a sentence what sometime I will publish in elaboration, viz.: That the observed fact that religion is primarily a phenomena of adolescence, is but a special illustration of the fundamental law of evolution that in the development of the individual we have a brief, compressed reproduction of the long series of transitions through which the race has passed.

Taking all these facts together I deduce the following working hypothesis, viz.: All religion not based upon personal religious (subjective) experiences, is mere sympathetic imitation, and properly speaking is not religion at all. (For some discussion of this see my article on "The Religious and Secular distinguished" in *The Arena* for Jan., 1908.) All religious experiences, in the special sense in which revival converts use those words, consist in the misinterpretation of an unidentified sex-ecstasy, founded upon the disturbances of the sexual nerve-centres as in adolescence, and that this sex-emotion thus misinterpreted, certifies to the inerrancy of whatever doctrine is in the mind of the experiencing individual associated with that misinterpreted sex-ecstasy.

Thus it is that men think they "know because they feel and are firmly convinced because strongly agitated." This is why religion is not a matter of reason, and so we may explain away the seeming certitude of the testimony of faith and the inward miracle of grace, and without the assumption of the religionists we may account for his existence, consistent with the beliefs of the Materialist Monist.

THE EDUCATION AND PROBLEMS OF THE PROTESTANT MINISTRY.

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III.

THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION.

If we ask, "are opportunities diminishing for inspiring ministerial activity?" an answer is had by the brief contemplation of our present moral and social needs. Let us enumerate some of these. The time is propitious for emulating the local and contemporaneous aspect of the ancient prophetic office; for more emphasis upon the immanent; for a reinterpretation of the social teachings of Jesus applicable to the present; for the rank and file of the laymen and the ministry of the churches to act unitedly in calling to judgment officials and seminaries and ecclesiastical organs; to burn or to revise plainly obstructive and contradictory doctrinal tenets; to raise uniformly by concerted action (possibly by the Council of Churches to meet in 1908) the admission requirements of the ministry; for the adoption of sensible financial methods, for better utilization of church capital and an equitable system of support for the minister; for the renunciation of clerical exemptions; for more attention to the conserving of the young, healthful and pure rather than to the reclamation of the hopelessly degraded who should be isolated; for the exercise of preventive efforts regarding the depraved, insane and criminal and the sins of society as a group; for recognition of the physical and psychical factors causative of sin and woe and for co-operation in prophylactic measures; for insistence upon justice for the friendless in our courts, and upon equally prompt disposal of rich and poor malefactors; for the exposure and punishment of the oppressors of the people, especially the vicious rich; for help in removing the causes of preventable poverty;

for elimination of the horrors of child-labor, by means of exposure, vigilance, investigation and legislation; for earnest discussion and familiarity with the remedies proposed for the evils of child and woman-labor and pauperism; for effective measures to protect the working woman from suffering, humiliation, disease and ruin; for a contribution from the ministry to the solution of the problems of prostitution and the social evil; for a cessation of intermeddling with affairs in distant states, of fomenting sectional and racial questions abroad; for especial activity in reform *at home*, each man seeking primarily to regenerate his own community by the use of every known physical and psychical, hygienic and legal remedy. This might give the answer to the cry for the practicalization of Christianity and its ministers. Interest in the position that organized religion should bear to these reforms will remain remote from those few churchmen to whom religion means nothing more than a means for furthering personal ends or the gratification of vanity. There are a growing number of men in the ministry, old and young, who covet all the equipment science can give. They possess the progressive spirit but lack information and what is more precious — an insight into the method and aim of research.

The churches and the world look to the theological seminaries for the production of a capable ministry. We now inquire in detail into the contribution the seminaries are making to the present situation.

The first institutions for higher education in the United States originated chiefly with the desire to educate candidates for the ministry; this was a main object in founding Harvard in 1636 and William and Mary in 1693. Candidates for the ministry pursued during the regular college course special studies, and in addition they were examined on certain theological books. The faculty included, as a rule, a professor of Hebrew and a professor of theology, and their work was supplemented by theological studies in private or under the oversight of clergymen (28). It is a mistake to assume that this system has passed, since a large proportion of clergymen are not seminary graduates. Many students go directly from the small sectarian college into the ministry. Although the standard varies in different parts of the country, it is true that licentiate admission to the ministry of almost any Protestant denomination can be gained by candidates without college or seminary training. According to Dexter (12 a) the best avail-

able figures indicate that about one minister in four, the country over, is a college graduate. The laxity attracts a certain ignorant element into the ministry — but also enables educated men of other than seminary education to enter. A noted educator observes: "Many intelligent laymen have the feeling that the training provided for students in the theological seminary does not meet the requirements of modern times. These men base their judgment upon what they see in connection with the work of the minister who has been trained in the seminary. Nor is this disaffection restricted to the laity. . . . So prevalent is this feeling that students for the ministry often ask the question, is there not some way of making preparation other than through the seminary? It is a serious question as to whether the education which the ministry has been receiving in the seminaries is as effective as a more practical experience with men. . . . The old-fashioned method of training ministers, the method employed before the organization of the theological seminary, because it has some certain advantages over modern methods deserves, at least, a partial reinstatement in the period of preparation." (19). The writer knows university graduates, Doctors of Philosophy, medical graduates and college graduates, and non-collegians, who have not been to seminaries but who are doing excellent work in the ministry.

That the seminary, as it exists, is a non-essential institution is further illustrated by the practice and the unequalled growth of the Methodist church which was late in inaugurating the special seminary plan. Now with numbers of ministerial candidates less than formerly, attendance in the Methodist seminaries is increasing. As the Methodists are, numerically, the strongest Protestant group in America, their method claims attention. The Methodist system encourages the two extremes of strength and weakness. Ignoramuses and weaklings may stand elbow to elbow with giants. However, the systematic course of study required of young ministers under the direction of committees compels a better education than where men are admitted to the ministry with neither this nor full seminary preparation. The four years' course of study required of every minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church before ordination is as follows: on admission the candidate begins this course, is assigned practical work but is not ordained until its full completion (14).

1. *For Admission on Trial.* (a) English Branches: Elementary English. Prin-

ciples of Rhetoric.—*Hill*. Outlines of History.—*Swinton*. A Manual of Bible History.—*Blaikie*. A Manual of Christian Doctrine.—*J. S. Banks*. A Plain Account of Christian Perfection.—*Wesley*. The Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1904. John Wesley, the Methodist. A Biography. Written Sermon. *To be read*: The Heart of John Wesley's Journal.—*Parker*. Selections from the Writings of John Wesley.—*Welch*. The Tongue of Fire.—*Arthur*. *First Year*. Introduction to the Holy Scriptures. (O. T. Pp. 1-447.)—*Harman*. Systematic Theology, Vol. 1.—*Miley*. Lectures on Homiletics.—*Kern*. Student's American History.—*Montgomery*. Written Sermon. *To be read*: Sermons (Vol. I) P I-XXXIII.—*Wesley*. A Compendious History of American Methodism.—*Stevens*. The Heart of Asbury's Journal.—*Tipple*. A Digest of Methodist Law.—*Merrill*. Extemporaneous Oratory.—*Buckley*. Methodist Review. *Second Year*. Introduction to the Holy Scriptures. (New Testament. Pp. 448-770.)—*Harman*. Systematic Theology, Vol. II.—*Miley*. Lessons in Logic.—*Jevons*. A Short History of the English People.—*Green*. Essay. *To be read*: Sermons (Vol. I) XXXIV-LVIII.—*Wesley*. History of Methodism, Vol. 1.—*Stevens*. English and American Literature.—*Beers*. Ecclesiastical Architecture.—*Martin*. The General Conference and Episcopacy.—*Harris*. Methodist Review. *Third Year*. Biblical Hermeneutics.—*Terry*. Outlines of Descriptive Psychology.—*Ladd*. Outlines of Universal History, Parts I and II.—*Fisher*. History of the Christian Church, Vol. I.—*Hurst*. The Land of Israel.—*Stewart*. Written Sermon. *To be read*: History of Methodism, Vol. II.—*Stevens*. History of Western Europe.—*Robinson*. Christian Archaeology.—*Bennett*. Introduction to Political Economy.—*Ely*. The Supernatural Book.—*Foster*. Methodist Review. *Fourth Year*. Grounds of Theistic and Christian Belief.—*Fisher*. Analogy of Religion.—*Butler*. Christian Ethics.—*Smyth*. Outlines of Universal History, Part III.—*Fisher*. History of the Christian Church, Vol. II.—*Hurst*. Essay. *To be read*: History of Methodism, Vol. III.—*Stevens*. Sociology.—*C. D. Wright*. Life and Epistles of St. Paul.—*Conybeare and Howsou*. History of the Ritual of the Methodist Episcopal Church.—*Cooke*. The Governing Conference in Methodism.—*Neely*. The Pentateuch.—*Bisell*. Methodist Review.

In 1905 there were twenty-eight bishops in the Methodist Episcopal Church and twelve in the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, these denominations representing five million members. In round numbers, according to the sketches in *Who's Who*, of the twenty-eight bishops, 85% were college graduates, but only 25% were graduates of theological seminaries, when they entered the regular ministry. Of the twelve bishops 85% were college graduates and 9% seminary graduates. These men have been singled out by their denominations as qualified for high office, and many of them are eminent as authors, educators or eloquent preachers. They received their theological training by following these prescribed "conference course of study" under the direction of committees and while in the ministerial harness.

In this course scientific training is almost ignored; physics, chemistry, biology, the new psychology and research are not required for

entrance. Formulated originally in a primitive state of society and gradually improved, the course may have been sufficient in connection with practical training, but to-day contains some obsolete elements. Notwithstanding the fruitage of the system, the obvious difficulties—the omission of science, the antiquated text-books, the lack of classroom work and the frequent incompetency of examining boards who pass upon the work of the four years, as well as the dangers of early and easy success, afford vast room for improvement. The Methodist denominations have in late years allowed credit to ministerial candidates for work done in the seminary, and during the past five years the M. E. Church, South, has well systematized its work into correspondence courses, correlated with the one theological seminary at Vanderbilt University. It is folly for sectarists who excuse the present seminary methods to cast ridicule upon this practical training system of the Methodists, since there are scores of prominent Congregational, Episcopal and Presbyterian pulpits occupied by former Methodist preachers, the product of this system. Both this and the seminary plan are wanting, but upon the basis of fruitage the more practical has been the more effective in this country. We have, in the case of the bishops, some evidence that where the man has college training and the ability to study alone, to him the seminary is not essential to success. As far back as 1847-1848 this question was raised. In commenting then in his report upon the lamentable falling off of students of divinity at Harvard, President Everett said the cause was “perhaps in a growing opinion that academic training, however well adapted to form students and professors of theology is not the best preparation for pastors of churches.” This old problem has not been solved by the seminaries and to-day, more than ever before, the inadaptation of the seminary and its need of change in method and in its venerable curriculum is manifest.

The decrease in ministerial gains is partly due to the diminishing number of students in theological seminaries. “No one can question this general decrease during the past decade,” declared President Harper in 1905. President Perry, at the convention of the Religious Education Association, 1905, said: “There has been an absolute decline in the number of students for the ministry in our Protestant churches, a decline chiefly in college students, and among these chiefly from the older, larger and richer Eastern institutions.” In order to

present to the eye the actual numerical status of the seminaries I have constructed tables I and II from data contained in United States Education Reports.

TABLE, I.

Professional Schools in the United States. Theological Students.

	(No. 1) Gain. 1874-1901.	(No. 3.) Total. 1893-1894.	(No. 4.) Total. 1898-1899.	(No. 5.) Total. 1903-1904.	Number of schools, 1904.
Presbyterian,	53%	1,375	1,443	1,035	23
Baptist,	60%	1,101	1,186	1,173*	13
Lutheran,	124%	938	984	843	21
Methodist,	150%	924	1,133	922	18
Congregationalist,	21%	626	490	421	10
Protestant Episcopal,	23%	444	409	381	13
Unitarian,		42	26	27	1
		5,450	5,671	4,802	99
Catholic,	48%	1,250	1,994	1,673	28
Others,		958	596	917	26
		7,658	8,261	7,392	153

* Including 222 summer students in University of Chicago in 1903.

TABLE II.

Comparative Summary.

	(No. 2.) In- crease since 1880.	(Nos. 3, 4, 5.) Students.			(No. 2.) College gradu- ates.	Schools.	(No. 2.) Value of Buildings and En- dowments
		1893- 1894.	1898- 1899.	1903- 1904.			
Law,	356%	7,311	11,874	14,306	18%	95	\$3,911,800
Medical,	126%	21,802	23,778	26,949	7%	152	15,654,679
Theological,	41%	7,658	8,261	7,392	24%	153	35,726,736

No. 1, U. S. Education Reports, 1900-'1, page 1735. No. 2, 1904, page 1588. No. 3, 1893, pages 141-2. No. 4, 1898-'9, pages 1675-'7. No. 5, 1904-'5 (advance sheets), pages 1632-1639.

We do not include correspondence schools of theology, which are numerous. Rev. Jesse L. Cuninggim presents a list of these schools in the report of the Religious Education Association (1905). For example, the University of Chicago and the Vanderbilt University offer correspondence courses in theology acceptable in part for a degree. Our tables do not include students prosecuting courses in

theology under the direction of ecclesiastical bodies, nor students pursuing partial theological courses in sectarian colleges, from which many go directly into the ministry.

The table I refers only to the regular theological seminaries, of which there were 153 in the United States. It makes clear (1) the relative increase in seminary students for different denominational groups in the period, 1874-1901; (2) the almost uniform decrease in students from 1894-1904, for seven prominent denominations; (3) the number of seminaries. The number of women in theological seminaries reduces even more our totals of men preparing for the ministry. In 1902 there were 108; in 1903, 166; in 1904, 187 women in the seminaries, chiefly in those of the Disciples or Christians, Baptists and Methodists.

Table II shows the comparative increase of students in the different professional schools; the law schools exhibit the most rapid gains, while theological schools the least since 1880. There are more medical students than either law or theological, and the percentage of college graduates (7%) among them is lowest in the scale. The problem of medical education presents a rich field for investigation, and there is reason to believe it would not be difficult to tear away the mask that hides widespread ignorance in the medical profession. The percentage of college graduates among seminary students is highest (24%). All of these percentages evince low grade entrance requirements in most professional schools.¹

The seminaries exhibit the highest valuation of buildings and endowment, very much distributed amongst 153 institutions. There are rich churches and struggling missions; so there are wealthy seminaries and many poor ones. It appears that altogether with the greatest number of schools, the heaviest investment of capital and the largest proportion of graduate-students, the seminaries accommodate less students than either the law or medical schools, and, judging only by the degrees, they receive the best equipped material.²

¹Report of U. S. Commission of Education, issued since above tables were constructed modify the figures.

² Since the above lines were written, Prof. Ernest D. Burton (*Biblical World*, June, 1907) has published the results of his investigation upon the supply of educated men for the ministry. His statistics refer to "fifty-eight of the leading theological schools of the United States, covering a period of approximately a quarter-

At the close of the eighteenth century with the growth and secularizing of the colleges, it was thought necessary to establish special institutions for theological training, although private institutions for this purpose had long been in existence. In New Jersey the seminary of the Reformed Dutch church in America was founded in 1784; St. Mary's in Baltimore in 1791. Those dissenting from the union of the Associate and the Reformed presbyteries founded a seminary in 1782 at Service, Pa. The Associate Reformed synod opened a theological school in 1805. In 1808 New England Congregationalists opened a theological school at Andover. In 1812 the General Assembly of the Presbyterian church founded the Princeton Theological Seminary. In 1815 Hartwick, the oldest Lutheran seminary in this country, was opened. In 1817 the Protestant Episcopal church established the General Seminary in New York. In 1820 the Baptists opened Hamilton Theological Seminary, afterward a department of Colgate University. The Reformed Church in the United States founded a theological seminary at Carlisle, Pa., in 1825. The Presbyterians opened the McCormick Theological Seminary at Chicago in 1833. In 1839 the Methodists opened their first seminary, afterwards a department of Boston University. In 1859, what has now the largest attendance of any isolated seminary in the United States, the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary at Louisville, Ky., was founded. The Southern Methodists opened the Biblical Department of Vanderbilt in 1875. The large majority of seminaries were founded before 1875, a growth paralleled by the increase of sectarianism. The multiplication of these schools was partly due to the necessity of better ministerial preparation with the increasing demands upon the ministry of a new civilization — but also to the desire to perpetuate peculiar denominational views. When men could not agree in detail upon credal dogma, they frequently split into sects which founded seminaries to teach their own peculiar views. In 1907 demand for better preparation of ministers is more urgent than ever, and the valuation of sectarian differ-

century. In this list are included practically all which are intended primarily for college graduates." He notes the facts that these schools taken together had in 1881, 2,150 students; that in the next nine years they gained in round numbers 1,000 students; in the next five years, 850 students; that in the twelve years since that period; they have lost over 700 students "that we are now apparently about at a standstill, neither gaining markedly or losing."

ences is diminishing; these two tendencies signify the failure of the seminaries to meet the modern religious situation, and the removal of a prime motive of institutions founded to perpetuate differences of opinion regarding the Christian faith.

A relic of the cloister is the widespread feeling that schools for the ministry should be apart from the walks of men, in quietude, and divorced from the mental activities of science and business. The tendency is manifested in the geographical isolation of the seminary. A large proportion of the seminaries are in the small towns or in suburban retreats — and even where they are correlated with universities in the large centres the theologues are often a distinct social class, somewhat exclusive and often designated by other students by means of various nicknames. Scores of law schools are in our cities; they have classes late in the day, and at night, to accommodate young men who earn their living as they study. They are in constant, grimy contact with the industrial and social situation and are a part of it. If the theologues and the law students could exchange (for an experiment) their buildings, hours, occupations, and comfortable dormitories, for the bee-hive boarding houses, and the crowded quarters of city law schools, the results might prove startling.

Dr. Parsons designates as a third step in the improvement of the theological education in this country, of which [the rise of the independent seminaries was the second, the recognition of the disadvantages of isolation (28). The disadvantage appears when we regard the great universities abroad, in some of which theology is the leading faculty. In a brief consideration of these I shall quote and paraphrase liberally Frederick Paulsen's admirable work, "*The German Universities and University Study*," newly translated by Frank Thilly and W. W. Erlang (1906).

The theological faculty became dominant in Germany because formerly theological interests controlled the entire trend of knowledge, and under the Reformation influence demand for theological education of the clergy won the day, which was the result of the Protestant principle of accentuating the idea of doctrine and its purity, and which placed the emphasis on preaching instead of liturgy. "The universities originated as a union of 'technical' schools for ecclesiastics, jurists and physicians, to which divisions the faculty of arts was related as a general preparatory school until, during the nineteenth cen-

tury, it also assumed something of the character of a professional institution for the training of teachers" and under the influence of the social-industrial evolution new vocations calling for university training were added to the "learned" vocations. The schools of technology are separated from the universities in which are usually four faculties—Theology, Law, Medicine and Philosophy. As the heir of the church, the state has assumed control of instruction and academic examinations and degrees. From a legal point of view the professors of theology are state officials just as much as those of other faculties. But they nevertheless stand in indissoluble relation to the church; it is their function to equip the clergy of a particular church with the education demanded by their calling. The peculiar condition exists in Germany that the servants of the church receive their education in state institutions from state officials. As the growing estrangement of church and state continues, this arrangement, says Paulsen, becomes more delicate. The Protestant churches demand uniform influence in the appointments to theological professorships, and it is held intolerable that the church should have no sort of assurance against the possibility of students of theology receiving their education and consequently an anti-ecclesiastical bias from unbelieving instructors. While freedom in teaching is the acknowledged characteristic of German universities, this is not without conflict and dispute, where scientific research comes in contact with the public authorities, the state and the church, where it deals with religious and political and social affairs (29).

The religious situation in the universities of Germany is not wholly an edifying model for our country. There the governmental and social conditions are different. There is far-reaching Catholic control in the universities of Bonn, Breslau, Munster, München, Würzburg, Tübingen and Freiburg, in addition to Catholic seminaries; conflicting Catholic factions oppose or favor the faculties; there is persistent and definite effort to bring Protestant theology under control, and there is the tremendous increase of the Jewish element in university life, which in Baden has quadrupled its attendance since the founding of the New German Empire, while the Catholics have but doubled theirs and the Evangelicals increased theirs by one-half. According to Lassen, quoted by Paulsen (p. 157), for each 1,000,000 of the male population of each denomination there were respectively

35 Catholic docents, 106.5 Evangelical, and 698.9 Jewish; and of ordinary professors 16.9 Catholic, 33.5 Evangelical, and 65.5 Jewish. Aside from anti-semitism, declares Paulsen, here is a real and difficult problem in the threatened monopolization of the learned professions by the Jewish population, who are residents of the cities, well-to-do, desirous of improving their social position, and to whom the military career is closed.

Freedom from restrictions has its dangers. "A certain mania for peculiar and extravagant ideas is manifest in many quarters (p 414). . . . The loudest and shrillest opposition to everything which was formerly esteemed is certain to attract the largest following.

" . . . Think of *Rembrandt als Erziehr*, of Max Nordau, Tolstoi and Nietzsche. . . . A new generation as distrustful of reason as the former had been of faith, turned to science with the expectation that exact research would place us upon a sure footing and supply us with a true theory of the world. But that science cannot do. It is becoming more and more evident that it does not realize an all-comprehensive world-view that will satisfy both feeling and imagination (p.67). The chief bond uniting the followers of Nietzsche is, after all, this unbelief in science; periods of doubt are always the easiest prey to charlatans. . . . Who will not think of Nietzsche, the *Unzeitgemässe*, who felt the call to brush away the mould of German educational Philistinism and the rubbish of academic life, who applies the hammer to all the heroes of the past, and then with derisive laughter breaks them all into pieces, the empty and hollow forms? And following in his wake we see the whole swarm of false geniuses, who, without a spark of the master's genius, imitate his unrestraint" (269-271). Such are the false and deceptive notions of freedom, which degenerate into license and nurture upstarts."

There is also found in Germany too narrow specialization; there are professors who are encyclopædias of knowledge but, unutterable bores in the class-room. There are distinguished professors in Germany who unduly dilute and popularize their regular lectures in order to attract throngs of students, from the fees of whom the professors mainly derive income. There are barbaric student codes of "honor" and the survival of the duel, admirably described by Hart and by Paulsen and a score of other things intolerable in democratic and Protestant America. In these days of seizing upon what is educationally new, it is well for reformers to examine with caution what may be too easily swallowed whole. But notwithstanding the unfavorable aspects which I have tried not to underestimate in a glance at the German system, our country has learned much from these German institutions. Prof. Thilly says (*ibid.* VIII): "The German plan is

not perfect, of course, . . . at the same time it seems to me that the Germans are much more careful and impartial in their choice and maintain a higher standard than we do. Local, personal, and political and sectarian influences are stronger with us than with them. . . . Appointments are frequently made in the United States, even in good universities, which 'outsiders' do not understand and the initiated only too well." He notes our system of one-man power which exists in many of our institutions, the interferences of governing boards, the influence of politics and the denominations, the unhealthful pressure sometimes exerted by the fear of losing appropriations—whatever may be the causes and excuses for the conditions, "the truth is there is more 'paternalism' in the universities in this free country than in those of military Germany."

The chief distinguishing mark of the German universities seems to be freedom in teaching, and the emphasis on research. To the former Prof. Paulsen attributes the wonderful advance which has been made in higher education during the nineteenth century. In addition to these the German University gives instruction in all the higher branches of professional and general knowledge. "Like the English universities it offers a broad and deep course of instruction in the arts and sciences. This is the special province of the philosophical faculty. Like the French faculties, it offers technical instruction for the learned professions in that it trains the clergy, judges and higher officers of administration, physicians and high-school teachers. But it is, in addition, what the English and French universities are not, namely, the most important seat of scientific work in Germany, and the nursery of scientific investigation. . . . The important thing is not the student's preparation for a practical calling, but his introduction into scientific knowledge and research. . . . This intimate union of investigation and instruction gives the German university its peculiar character" (p. 4). In England the real instruction is usually left to fellows and tutors; there, research is a private affair. In France the investigators belong to the Academy, may deliver public lectures, but are not the actual daily teachers. In Germany all university professors, it is assumed, are investigators and scholars and teachers. Closely allied with research is the seminar, where under the direction of a scientific man the students meet for co-operation, discussion and criticism. The best American universities represent a combination of the English

and German types ; in few is original investigation the main object of attention and labor.

The theological seminaries of the United States, as a class, are entirely remote from the practice of intellectual freedom and of research, as are the colleges, which mainly have instruction for their aim. The unpreparedness of ministerial candidates in the past may have forced the seminaries of the United States into elementary work, but undoubtedly conservatism and adherence to sectarian tenets are very influential factors in quarantining the seminary from university methods. Since Catholicism rests upon the principle of absolute authority, opposition to anything but obedience to the church is to be expected from it, but opposing this infallibility of authority, Protestantism should appeal to the convictions of individuals, must not unduly restrict faith, conscience, investigation and science. Paulsen observes, speaking of the situation in Germany : " There can be no doubt that Protestant theology would suffer both in power and significance if it were placed under the control of the church and her organs." (p. 139.)

Somewhat in keeping with this principle is the tendency of some seminaries in the United States to affiliate closely with universities. This step is a commendable movement away from the complete academic isolation of the independent seminaries. For instance, the Episcopal Theological School at Cambridge, Mass., enjoys many of the advantages of Harvard, the Episcopal Divinity School at Philadelphia shares advantages offered by the University of Pennsylvania ; Union and the General Theological Seminary in New York, those offered by Columbia and New York Universities ; Yale Divinity School is progressive and in close affiliation with departments of Yale ; in the South, the theological school is a regular department of Vanderbilt ; in the West the University of Chicago has its extensive departments of divinity. Many universities, which are in reality only colleges, have theological adjuncts. The affiliation with universities does not imply a loss of identity by the seminaries, or a wide deviation in many instances from time-honored seminary methods. And it is important to note that the majority of theological seminaries remain isolated in location as well as academically. In measuring the influence of these institutions as a whole upon the churches, it should be remembered that some of the older and famous institutions annually contribute a very small proportion of the yearly large output of minis-

terial graduates. In the year 1904 there were 1,620 graduates, of whom more than 75% were Protestants. To this number Harvard Divinity School contributed 7 men, Yale 26, Union (N. Y.) 31, Hartford 18, Andover 5, Newton 19, Episcopal (Cambridge) 12, Bangor 7, Seminary of Reformed Church in America (N. J.) 12, Meadville 6.

More than two-thirds of the seminaries offer free tuition to all students, and some of them advertise this and other pecuniary aid as inducements to attract students. Of 95 schools of law, 7 give free tuition, and of 152 medical schools, 6 offer free tuition. The policy of indiscriminate aid is different in principle from the awarding of scholarships or fellowships as a reward of merit, or to encourage investigation, or for which some adequate return is made, and the seminary practice is therefore capable of inculcating a spineless dependence.

The University of the State of New York issued in 1899 a detailed summary of every one of the seminaries in the United States (39). This carefully prepared exhibit shows that at this time of 165 theological schools in 30 political divisions (omitting 24 that report no theological schools, and including colonial possessions) "101 admit men only; 64 admit both men and women; 73 grant degrees; 46 are departments of universities or colleges, and 13 have affiliated relations; only 8 have a matriculation fee, 33 a course fee, and 34 other fees; 71 require a college degree for admission, 3 the completion of junior year, 18 the freshman year, 19 a three years' high school course, 6 a two years', 1 a one year's, 19 a common school, 4 have none and 24 are not given.

A comparison of the average length of the courses of study of the seminaries in the United States for the years 1874 and 1904 shows 3 years 1 month for the former, and 2 years 11 months for the latter. The majority of the Protestant seminaries have a course of three years, and many offer the option of prolonged courses.

Rev. Dr. C. A. Briggs wrote as follows in 1892 (28): "The course in theology is still very defective in the great majority of theological schools . . . but no one can deny real and great progress. . . . The backbone of theological training is still Hebrew exegesis, Greek exegesis, Church history, Systematic theology, Pastoral theology and homiletics. . . . The scientific method is beginning to revolutionize theological education, but this movement is only in its beginnings."

During the past fifteen years the scientific leaven has been at work and more than a dozen seminaries have introduced marked improvements in their courses and methods. Sociology, psychology, modern pedagogy and the comparative study of religions have penetrated pro-

gressive institutions, but on the whole the theological curriculum is sadly in need of revision. Gleaning from recent catalogues, or those of last year (1905), there follows an outline of all the subjects offered in typical institutions of the different denominations. The phraseology of the catalogues and the names of the courses are copied verbatim, so far as possible. No attempt is made to distinguish the electives from the prescribed courses, the aim being to give a general view of all that enters into the seminary curriculum. It is to be noted that the University of Chicago Divinity School, in affiliation with the University, affords a considerable range of electives. Since the above compilation was made, Yale Divinity School has taken a commendable and progressive stand. Beginning with the academic year 1907-'08, the studies of the Divinity School will be grouped into three courses, each leading to the degree of B. D., and known as the Historical, the Philosophical and the Practical courses. The study of Hebrew will be required only in the Historical course.

Crozer, Baptist, Pa. Old and New Testament Literature, History and Exegesis and Criticism, Hebrew, Greek, and Aramic. English New Testament. Biblical, Systematic and Practical Theology. Church History. Psychology of Religious Experience. Christian Ethics. Ethics of Public Questions. Principles of Pedagogy. History and Comparison of Religions. Missions. Music. Electives in the University of Pa.

Divinity Schools of University of Chicago (Baptist).

1. *Graduate Divinity School.* Old and New Testament Literature and Interpretation. Hebrew, Rabbinical, Assyrian, Arabic, Egyptian Languages, Literature, History and Archæology. Linguistic, Critical, Exegetical, Archæological and Historical courses. Biblical and Patristic Greek. Documents. Criticism. Historical Introductions. Interpretation of New Testament. The Life of Jesus Christ. History of New Testament (manuscripts, canon, interpretation, criticism). Biblical and Systematic Theology. Church History. Homiletics and Pastoral Duties. Ecclesiastical Sociology. Public Speaking. Physical Culture. Music. Departments of the University are open to divinity students.

2. *English Theological Seminary.* Old and New Testament Literature and Interpretation. Systematic Theology. Church History. Homiletics and Pastoral Duties. Public Speaking. Music.

3. *Non-residence Correspondence Courses.*

4. *Allied Organizations.* *Disciples' Divinity House.* History. Doctrine. Ideas of Union, Place, Mission, Problems. Literature of the Disciples or followers of Campbell and Stone. *Cumberland Presbyterian Divinity House* (courses not named).

(The Scandinavian, Swedish Seminaries omitted.)

Union Theological Seminary, Presbyterian, New York. Biblical Philology, and Exegesis, Hebrew and Greek. Biblical Theology. Old and New Testament.

Church History. Philosophy and History of Religion. Apologetics. Systematic Theology. Christian Ethics. Practical Theology. (Homiletics. Missions. English Bible.) Theological Encyclopædia and Symbolics. German Theological Literature. Vocal Music. Physical Training. Electives in Columbia and in New York Universities.

General Theological Seminary, Pretestant Episcopal, New York. Old and New Testament. Hebrew. Greek. Exegesis. Dogmatic and Pastoral Theology. Ecclesiastical History, Polity and Law. Evidences of Revealed and Natural Religion. Ethics. Ecclesiastical Music. Elocution. Electives in Columbia University.

Princeton Theological Seminary, Presbyterian, New Jersey. The Relation of Philosophy and Science to the Christian Religion. Old and New Testaments, Hebrew, Greek. Biblical and Church History. Biblical, Systematic, Ecclesiastical Homiletical and Pastoral Theology. English Bible. Missions. Rhetorical Exercises in Sermonizing. Extra curriculum courses in Semitic Philology and Textual Criticism.

Garrett Biblical Institute, Methodist Episcopal, Illinois. Historical and Practical Theology. Christian Doctrine. Sociology. Sacred Rhetoric. Old and New Testaments (languages, history and interpretation), Hebrew, Greek and Semitic Languages. Exegesis. Elocution. Privileges at Northwestern University.

Augustana Theological Seminary, Evangelical Lutheran, Illinois. Tuition free. Propædæutics. Philosophy. Systematic, Exegetical, Historical and Practical Theology, Greek, Hebrew and Semitic Languages. Post-graduate courses.

Lutheran Theological Seminary, Pa. Hebrew. Exegetical, Systematic, Biblical, Historical and Pastoral Theology. Homiletics. Chaldee. Greek. Missions. Sunday Schools. Lectures on Hermeneutics, Polity, Catechetics, Symbolics, Liturgics. Elocution.

College of the Bible, Disciples or Christians, Drake University, Iowa. Evidences. History. Doctrine. Hebrew and Semitic Languages and Literature. Doctrine of Paul. New Testament Greek. Exegesis and Criticism. Preaching and Manual Employment. Correspondence Courses.

Drew Theological Seminary, Methodist Episcopal, New Jersey. Old and New Testament Exegesis, Hebrew, Greek, Historical, Systematic and Practical Theology. Biblical Literature and the English Bible. Music and Hymnology. Vocal Culture. Christian Doctrine. Seminar. Advanced Study.

Biblical Dep't, Vanderbilt University, Methodist Episcopal, South. Tennessee. Old and New Testament Languages and Literature, Hebrew and Greek. Biblical Theology and English Exegesis. Church History. Systematic and Practical Theology. Practical Sociology. Religious Education, including psychological and pedagogical theory. Public Speaking. Missions. Vocal Music. Correspondence School. Lectures. University Privileges.

Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Kentucky. Biblical Introduction. Old and New Testament Interpretation, Hebrew, Greek. Systematic Theology. Comparative Religion and Missions. Homiletics and Elocution. Church History. Ecclesiology. Pastoral Duties. Special courses in Old Testament, in Theology, Comparative Religion and Missions, and in Church History. Lectures.

Presbyterian Theological Seminary of Kentucky. Apologetics. Biblical Introduction. Old and New Testament Exegesis, Hebrew, Greek. English Bible and

Biblical Theology. Church History. Systematic and Pastoral Theology. Homiletics. Elocution. Church Polity. Special courses.

Episcopal Theological School, Mass. Old and New Testament, Hebrew, Assyrian, Greek Exegesis. Criticism. Introduction and History. Systematic Divinity. Christian Ethics. Liturgies. Homiletics. Pastoral Theology. Canon Law. Privileges at Harvard.

Chicago Seminary, Congregational, Illinois. Old and New Testament Literature and Interpretation, Hebrew, Greek, Assyriology, and Comparative Religion. Ecclesiastical History. Systematic and Pastoral Theology. Homiletics. Christian Sociology. Public Speaking. Sacred Music. Missions. Physical Training. Social Settlement. German, Danish, Norwegian and Swedish Institutes. Lectures.

Theological Seminary, Reformed Church in America, N. J. Old and New Testaments. Exegetical Theology. Hebrew, Greek Exegesis. Historical, Systematic and Practical Theology. Homiletics. Liturgies. Polemics. Archaics. Pedagogy Sociology. English Bible. Domestic and Foreign Missions.

Yale Divinity School, Congregational, Conn. Old and New Testament Literature and History. Hebrew, Greek Exegesis. Biblical, Systematic and Practical Theology. Church History. Christian Pedagogy and Church Administration. Christian Sociology. Semitic Languages and Philology. Archæology. Biblical Literature. Elocution. Missions. Music. Electives in Yale University.

Andover, Congregational, Mass. Old and New Testaments, Hebrew, Greek. Cognate Languages. Biblical, Church and Doctrinal History. Systematic, New Testament and Practical Theology. Homiletics. Elocution. History of Religion and Ethics. Psychology of Religious Experience. Christian Social Ethics. Foreign Missions. Congregational Polity. Church Music, etc. Practical experience in church work.

Meadville, Unitarian, Pa. Encyclopædia and Methodology. Old and New Testaments, Hebrew, Greek. Church History. Comparative Religion. Philosophy, Psychology, and the Philosophy of Religion. Sociology and Ethics. Homiletics. English Composition and Literature. Ancient and Modern Languages. Elocution and Vocal Music. Lectures.

The objection to these courses of study is the preponderance of theology in its various divisions, of languages, Hebrew, Greek exegesis and of history. Where Greek is not taught as a regular subject, a knowledge of the language for purposes of exegesis is generally assumed. The student, if fresh from a first-class college and scientific preparation, aglow with inspiration, suffers a shock. Instead of full treatment of the subjects of vital and fascinating interest, biology, psychology, sociology, literature, political economy and philosophy, he is forced to grind at the elements of dead languages. The late Moderator of the Congregational National Council, Amory H. Bradford, D. D., speaking of the study of Hebrew says in the *May Independent* (1906), "The theological seminaries have made and are making an idol of the Hebrew language. They are responsible for a waste of an enormous

amount of time and offering only a shadow in compensation. They are ignoring the fact that almost, if not quite, the entire Hebrew literature has already been translated in a way which will never be surpassed. . . . Most of the ministers of the present and of the past know next to nothing of the Hebrew language. They would not use it if they knew it." That it honors the Bible, that the study is needed as an intellectual exercise, that the study is necessary in order that the Christian teacher may be properly equipped as an interpreter of the Book—these are the hackneyed and exploded excuses given for this idol-worship. Compulsory attention to the study of Hebrew is a relic of the mediæval day. It dishonors the Bible by the slipshod methods of those who cannot possibly gain more than a smattering of the language, and inculcates the hypocrisy of learning, for men know well that the scholarly translators who worked for years preparing the English versions did better than the cramming theologian can do after a forced study of two or three years' duration. Linguistic zeal often produces pathetic results. I asked a Doctor of Philosophy, a teacher of classics, for his opinion of Aristotle's Ethics. In all seriousness he answered that he could translate the "stuff." "*But what! Do you think I make any effort to understand the philosophy of Aristotle?*" It is said that Emerson claimed he would as soon swim the Charles River every time he went from Cambridge to Boston as to read the ancient classics in the original. A close inspection of the catalogues discloses that too much of the student's time in the three years is consumed by things which common sense, experience and pedagogy demonstrate to be utterly inadequate for the training of men capable of meeting the moral and religious crises of modern times.

Where sociology has been introduced it is too often of the text-book variety or taught only one or two hours a week. Miss Herzfeld has just published the result of an investigation of 24 families living in West Side of New York (21). Her Monograph gives exact insight into the details of these families: such as nationality, descent, residence, tenements, assimilation, mental traits, reading, art, music, "rackets," and balls, dissipation, superstitions, beliefs, and practices about pregnancy, child-birth, lactation, etc., christening, weddings, funerals, deaths, attitudes towards church, physicians, hospitals, police, politics, relations to neighbors, wages, occupations, trades, unions, and benefit societies, industries, idleness, family expenditures, savings,

insurance, typical apartment, housekeeping, moving, relations between husband and wife, parents and children and kinsfolk. At least familiarity with investigations of this kind might open the eyes of seminary professors and students to the fact that far-reaching moral reform cannot be brought about by street singing and preaching or the visiting of prisons or bawdy houses by well-intentioned but callow youths. Even settlement work in preference to actual participation in the labors and hardships of industrial toilers is open to objections. Where curiosity seekers and the blasé looking for degenerate excitement, or over-certain spectacled youths and busy, elderly maiden ladies pry into humble homes without the slightest regard for the feelings of the occupants, whom they erroneously look upon as a distinct species of genus homo, trouble follows. It is reported that in some tenement houses of the East Side, Manhattan, signs have been hung in the halls forbidding entrance "to peddlers, slummers and sociologists," one class being regarded as much of a nuisance as the other.

The comparative study of religions by means of excellent translations is more fruitful than perfunctory grinding at dead languages, and this study is insufficiently represented in the seminary course. Max Mueller (26) points out that the comparative study of religions places in clear light certain general truths; first: the inevitable decay to which every religion is exposed; even the most perfect suffers from contact with the world, if without reformation. Secondly, religions in ancient form or in the minds of their authors are generally free from the blemishes acquired in later times. Thirdly, there is hardly one religion that does not contain some important truth sufficient to enable those who seek the Lord to find him in time of need. Fourth, we shall learn to appreciate better than ever what we have in our own religion. "No one who has not examined patiently and honestly the other religions can know what Christianity really is," he says. To these excellent reasons may be added the practical and modifying effect of the comparison of religions upon some methods of foreign missionary effort which consumes much of the energy of our churches; and also the fact that evolutionists find in the religious phenomena of peoples common traits and bonds of unity. "All rites and ceremonies and beliefs and all history are the outward expression, the typology of the human soul, unexplored and inexhaustible in its possibilities and grandeur," declares one writer.

Psychology in its latest developments is almost an unknown quantity in conservative seminaries. The well-explored psychology of religious experience illuminates, as never before, conviction, repentance, conversion, forgiveness, and discloses the dangers and the symptoms of pathological religious states, and transvaluates neglected realities into terms of racial import. A more general knowledge of this subject as discussed by Starbuck (36), Coe (12), Hall (18), and James (21a) would revolutionize many mission, revival and Sunday school methods.

It would be an easy task to multiply profitable subjects to take the place of obsolete courses now used in ministerial preparation. Pedagogy used to be the delight and monopoly of the didactic pedant. The new science of experimental pedagogy or education, while in some instances swinging too far from old models, is endeavoring to place the problem of the training of childhood and youth upon a scientific basis, as for example in the works of Lay and of Meumann and of Binet. In the matter of school hygiene, mental and physical, progress has been made by investigators who lead the way to vast reform. The construction, heating, lighting and ventilation of school buildings have been improved; trained nurses have been introduced into the New York schools; medical inspection of school children is disclosing and remedying in early life hitherto neglected causes of a harvest of physical and mental evil; factors such as impaired nutrition, enlarged glands, chorea, cardiac disease, pulmonary disease, skin disease, deformities of spine, chest or extremities, defective vision or hearing, deficient nasal breathing, defective teeth, deformed palate, hypertrophied tonsils, posterior nasal growths, deficient mentality, all factors of significance to the individual and to the community. A report prepared under the direction of Dr. William H. Burnham, June, 1906, contains a succinct sketch of the present status and practice of school hygiene in the United States (8). This science should not be neglected by any one who would lead in the moral and intellectual training of children, and it needs especially to have the attention of leaders in the Sunday school work, many of whom are elected to responsibilities, who have never enjoyed the briefest training in this subject and its greater parent, child study.

The scientific study of children has progressed far beyond the knowledge of the average minister and teacher, and already offers

certain indisputable results which, if utilized, will make child and adult life happier, and will bring momentous changes, both in the home and in the schools. The school and training should be adapted to the child, rather than the reverse, when child-nature is distorted into the rigid mold of some pedagogic system or of ignorance. Health guarded by the rules of hygiene; habits of healthful activity; the full development of the fundamental muscles without premature diversion of activity into the accessory and more complex members; emancipation from fear; attention until the age of about ten to nature study in nature rather than in books, and to mother's stories; wholesome nutrition with care against the acquisition of perverted tastes; abundant sleep, and moral habituation are better than the neglect and slow starvation of the child of poverty, or the neglect and sensual indulgence of children in the home of luxury, better than subservience to the exactions of educational fads, the intricate tasks of the unreformed kindergarten, or than the forced interest in doctrinal teaching and the memorizing of texts.¹ The new translation from the Danish of Carl Ewald's booklet, "My Little Boy," sets forth in pleasing style the new meaning of childhood, and is an excellent utensil for conveying the love of child study to the parent or teacher or minister. The numerous articles by Burnham, such works as those of Preyer, of Shinn, the summary by Tanner, the works of Hall, of Hodge, Chamberlain, and of Haslett, should bear a wealth of fruit in the mind of the young minister, put him into touch with new forces, making for human development; and with such new power the strong arm of the ministry would be equipped to render valiant service to the cause of the children and the race. Why preach at all the doctrines of Christ if in permitting the souls and bodies of children to remain in the grasp of customs and men that destroy them, Christian people violate the cardinal injunction, "Suffer little children to come unto me, and forbid them not. . . ." ? The pioneer leader in child study in America thus wrote in 1903:

"At first child study passed through a period of criticism such as few scientific movements in the modern world, save evolution alone, have had to sustain. It had, too, a host of camp followers who had little conception of its meaning and no idea

¹ A lengthy bibliography of child study is prepared annually by Dr. Louis N. Wilson, of Clark University, Worcester, Mass.

of its severity of scientific method, and who offered many very vulnerable points of attack. Some four or five years ago, when the critics were loudest and most aggressive, many superficial observers thought the movement dead. But it has spread to department after department. In insanity it has given us the new studies of dementia præcox; has almost re-created the department of juvenile criminology; furnished a new method for studying the most important problems of philology has revolutionized and almost re-created school hygiene; made adolescence, a strange word ten years ago, one of the most pregnant and suggestive for both science and education; given us the basis of a new religious psychology; and laid the foundation for a new and larger philosophy and psychology of the future, based not on the provincial study of a cross section of the adult mind, but on a broad, genetic basis. The few able psychological and philosophical professors, who still refuse to accept it, as Agassiz did evolution, will not escape the same kind of criticism meted out to him" (18).

The study of adolescence is of equal importance to the minister with that of child study, as it is particularly the age of marked physical and mental changes. It is unfortunate, also, for a physician of souls to be ignorant of certain parallelisms between sexual and religious abnormalities, and between love and religion. President Hall, in *Adolescence* sums up his reasons for emphasizing this parallelism and gives an extensive bibliography on the subject. We must at least admit that the sexual instinct plays a profound rôle in every phase of life, whether in matrimony, social relations, business, art, poetry, or religions. Some knowledge here seems indispensable for an understanding of certain religious experiences. A minister is sadly inequipped who is not prepared to combat and vanquish with facts the freak religionists, free-love cultists and the quacks, to solve the problems which take deep root in perversions of fundamental animal instinct, or to act as an intelligent counsellor.

The seminary student could find in the science of hypnotism a profitable field for study and abundant reason exists why he should enter it. The history of the precursors of hypnotism, as recorded by Bérillon (3) and Bramwell (6), discloses the evolution of the science and records the constantly occurring recrudescences of error and superstition. To-day, in the United States, hypnotism is mainly in the hands of charlatans, but the time is not distant when its moral, social and educational significance will be clearly apparent. Stratton declares that imitation, suggestion and hypnotism are at bottom one; Binet's and Small's experiments demonstrate the remarkable susceptibility of school children to suggestion; Bérillon proves the potency of its pedagogic application in the treatment of vicious and degenerate children; from Esdaile to Bramwell its surgical and therapeutic use has developed; Verworn recently considers the so-called hypnosis of animals; Ross, the social bearing of suggestion, and to this list may be added the works of Moll, of Forel, of Bechterew and the recent study of Walden. Seashore's experiments in the Yale laboratory, on illusions and hallucinations in normal life, strike at the

core of contentions about "errors of sense," and the force of suggestion, and the so-called "occult" phenomena of mind-reading, crystal vision, apparitions, telepathy and hypnotism (34).

Suggestion is the active principle operative in the costly advertisements of quack doctors who prey upon the credulous and the conscience smitten; advertisers depend upon it; the low theatre spreads billboards full of the suggestion of licentiousness. Suggestion is a factor in oratory and in literature. Conditions of suggestibility as well as methods of imparting suggestion are of pregnant interest to those who would prevent evil and do good. It is of vast significance in the sphere of religious experience. If ministers and physicians ten years ago had mastered the science of suggestion, it is improbable that so many thousands of persons, intelligent but lacking in the logical aspect of mind, could have been charmed and held by the vagary of Christian Science. President Hall observed recently, "the throngs of Christian Scientists, who dedicate this week their two million dollar temple, at least teach us that an ugly, venomous toad may carry in his head the precious jewel of truth, small though it be."

Ignorant persons suppose that the terms hypnotism and psychology are synonymous. The manifold phenomena explained by principle of suggestion are fascinating to cranks, aspiring mediocres, to youths at the age of curiosity, and even to honest investigators, some of whom are without the sound biological and scientific training necessary for accurate discrimination between fact and fable, evidence and hearsay. It would be unwise for ministerial candidates to plunge into this subject unless there preceded the course a proper training in modern psychology and biology. Pseudo-psychologists, "psychists," fortune-tellers, spiritualists, mediums and "professors" of hypnotism thrive. The simple procedure to produce hypnosis can be learned quickly by almost any one and involves no "occult" force or unusual gift. Books, written by men who know the art but not the science of hypnotism, and who care nothing for its possible misuse, may be bought for ten cents—and this is the kind of hypnotic literature that is flooding the country. The minister must be able to explain as well as to condemn. Hypnotism has been relegated properly to the physician, but to-day the ancient prestige and mystery attaching to the doctor does not hide his ignorance touching the therapeutic use of suggestion and its allied applications. Not six regular medical colleges in the United States offer adequate courses in suggestion, or in psychology, or even in psychiatry. The mental side of life is neglected by them. The average doctor is eager enough to denounce the Christian Scientist, the Healer, or the Osteopath, and to affirm some value in "suggestion"—but catechize him closely and his ignorance of the subject appears. The failure of the medical profession in the United States, with notable exceptions, to develop this subject, notwithstanding the advanced work of Forel, Bernheim, Wetterstrand and Bramwell abroad, is largely responsible for the growth of religious fads, certain vices, as well as of the patent medicine business—things dependent upon the uninformed, suggestible minds of the populace affected by sug-

gestion in its hydra-headed forms. It is here that the new minister, with unchallengeable information, may find a new vantage point for attack upon pernicious evils, as well as better modes of teaching and influencing men.

Jesus Christ, presented to the world as the one God-Man, challenges and demands the interpretation of modern science and response is not lacking. Destructive to accretions of superstition and ignorance, here hypothetically is offered a basis of faith and a new interpretation of Christianity which promises a higher valuation of Christianity and its Founder, where manuscript-fetichism, complicated exegesis and perversions of natural law and vehement, eloquent assertion, have failed. The psychology of religion, accepting the historical personage of Jesus, after the higher criticism has finished its demolition of gloss and tradition, attributes to Jesus, "the greatest achievement of history—the realization of the full dimensions of the human soul. The externals of history and creed, the outer glories, it finds in the soul of man—and rises above the philosopher who thinks merely of the soul as a ghost, or an aspect, or a cortical spot, or a mirror." For the treatment of miracles and of apologetics it offers a changed but constructive method. When old forms are tottering from the broken columns of literalism and historicity, the psychology of religion denies that all is lost, and declares that new riches are discovered. Room is left for faith and imagination and for the leadings of the heart which is older than the intellect and the organized church. It is not within the province of the new science, however, to have a propaganda. At present it is not milk for babes, and only mature and trained minds can find nourishment therein. Its sphere is within the university and the study, where those qualified to receive its revelations may profit thereby, and carry its results into the world to spread like irrigating streams upon parched soils. "Many things may be wrought out in the study that are not edifying in the pulpit"—is a sentence from a recent Methodist Bishop's Address.

Instructive and inspiring studies like these are needed by candidates for the ministry in order that the disgust at dead languages and the pedagogic paralysis of obsolete methods may be eliminated and the man be prepared to meet opportunities, some of which have been enumerated. It is painful for men to spend years ostensibly in preparation for the ministry of religion and yet be given but a glimpse, and often an unfavorable view, of these new streams of spiritual life,

the water of life for which the world is athirst, that is flooding our universities and percolating to wherever men pause to think. That something is radically wrong in our methods of ministerial training has been recognized for years. Proffered remedies have multiplied as the inadaptation of the seminaries has become more and more glaring. In 1883 and again in 1898, President Eliot offered the following suggestions touching the "surroundings and mental furniture of the minister, not his inspiration" (28).

First, there are preliminary subjects which every student of theology should be required to master. 1. Languages: Greek (including New Testament Greek), Latin, Hebrew and German. 2. English literature, with practice in writing, and study of style. 3. The elements of psychology. 4. The elements of political economy. 5. Constitutional history or the history of some interesting period of moderate length. 6. Science: botany, zoölogy or geology studied in the field. Having finished the required studies, the candidate for the ministry is ready to enter upon the advanced studies, which may properly be called professional. Since preaching is to be his most important function, he will naturally give a good share of his time to homiletics and the practice of writing and speaking. The other studies which are now included under the comprehensive term "theology" or "divinity" may be grouped as follows: 1. Semitic studies: linguistic, archæologic and historical. 2. New Testament criticism and exegesis. 3. Ecclesiastical history. 4. Comparative religion or historic religions compared. 5. Psychology, ethics and the philosophy of religion. 6. Systematic theology, and the history of Christian doctrine. 7. Charitable and reformatory methods, and the contest of Christian society with licentiousness, intemperance, pauperism and crime. He does not maintain that there is no need of uneducated ministers, or that men of genius are dependent on systematic training or that "sensibility, earnestness and piety are not the most essential qualities."

The proposals of President Eliot in 1898 would have effected far-reaching reform, if they had been adopted fully. The more recent suggestions of Dr. Harper (19) embody practical and better specifications for the improvement of the seminary, and are the most comprehensive and valuable we have seen in print. They embody provisions for a practical division of time and of classes, provide for both contact with men and for poetic seclusion, demand the introduction of science and of research, the elimination of sectarian isolation and dependence upon broad inter-denominational co-operation, and specify other ways of improvement. But in both of these typical plans for reforms, the second of which seems to offer nearly all that is needed, the chief factor in the unfortunate plight of the seminaries is kept in the background. It is the factor that together with the demand for an educated ministry brought the seminaries into existence. The mid-

wife became the nurse, and, now that the youth is full grown, the decrepit and honored attendant—credal sectarianism—is an incumbrance. Academic freedom to investigate, to write and to speak, is the boon that sectarianism has withheld from the seminary, and is withholding from the vast number of them to-day. This prohibition is at the foundation of prescribed courses, obsolete text-books and the fetich of dead languages in our schools for ministerial preparation. A great fear of heresy, of destruction of the old theological standards, a feeling that if these are not maintained religion and morality will decay, persists. And thus the traditional attitude of hostility to investigation, to the recasting of old systems, is preserved, and the constant tendency to fix permanently and unchangeably a standard of authority is manifest in the iron-clad dogmas of the separate sects. Foster (16) points out the inconsistency of this position in the churches that stand for a protest against the letter of Roman Catholicism in the following words: “Between the principle of free investigation—indispensable to science, even to Biblical science—and the principle of an absolute doctrinal authority—indispensable to Catholicism, even to liberal Catholicism—yawns an unbridgeable gulf. . . . But since Protestant orthodoxy likewise recognizes an infallible authority, what is true of Catholicism in this particular is true of it—the principle is the same—and all efforts to conceal or sugar-coat that principle do not mitigate or excuse its moral and scientific offensiveness.”

But everything to-day indicates the quaking of this spirit. Confederations, denominational unions are occurring with unprecedented frequency. Sectarianism is sick and with it passes the authority and prohibitions of contradictory standards which oppose investigation and research. A French writer observes: “From the very outset, the solidarity between the Protestant and the scientific spirit is apparent. Both were born at the same time. The Reformation was, in history, a parallel movement to that of the Renaissance, proceeding in the same direction. . . . To conciliate our science and our faith is the inner and the sacred task which imposes itself upon the conscience of every man who thinks freely and wishes at the same time to be a man of profound morality.”

Denominational control and the conservative spirit that tends to turn the face of religionists towards the past will continue, but there are radical changes ahead of us in the manner and scope of this con-

trol. So long as research and freedom of belief and speech are exercised by men of character, truth, the church need not fear its free entrance into the field of ministerial training. The most sweeping suggestion that I can make, therefore, for seminary reform is that we must apply to it the pedagogic maxim "to reform a school first reform the schoolmaster." We would put in charge of theological training men of character, ability and true piety, to whom perfect intellectual freedom should be granted. The elements that have been brought to light in these pages all point to this solution. In its professional aspects the ministry, like other professions, must adapt itself to its environment or suffer dissolution. The mental atmosphere of to-day is one of scientific method, and the religious and social unrest evince the need of better adaptation. In order that more men may be attracted to a vocation where a dearth is growing, the prohibition of deterring limitations and irrational restrictions must be removed. The chaotic status of the pastoral relation, the tension between the ideal and the practical at the breaking point, demand investigation for solution of the problems; and the pastor needs the spirit of freedom in order to discriminate and choose the essential. The social problems, of poverty and luxury, the incongruities within the church demand the vitalizing contact of searching and illuminating methods. While we recognize the peculiar militarism and the social structure of Germany and may profit by the wholesome warnings of the repellant features of the German universities, nevertheless they are, perhaps, the strongest in the world, have at their backbone freedom and research, and it is the introduction of these principles which is revolutionizing the universities of America. True, there are few of these wholly devoted in aim to research, but this is avowedly the goal in our leading institutions.

A few considerations with regard to the practicability of these recommendations to the seminaries, and of its corrolaries, will close this chapter. It is only hoped that these crude suggestions will reveal a plan for the logical and effective solution of the seminary problem. It is unfair to demand of our most conservative institutions, the seminaries, that they adopt more radical changes than our American secular universities have adopted. It is easy enough for the reformer to shout "abolish the seminaries" or "make of them German Universities." The American university is more devoted to instruction than to research. What we desire to suggest are practical first steps in the

remodelling and improvement of our seminaries. Although in its chief aspect the ministry is a vocation, nevertheless it is a profession subject to influencing environment. This the seminarian stubbornly refuses to see, consequently conditions social, industrial, religious and scientific have changed while the seminary has not been altered, or adapted. The turning away from the seminaries by young men, the insistent common demand for more practical training of the ministry, the hardships of the ministers, the crying need of leaders in morals, the new social problems and the superb opportunities before the ministry, and the scientific enlightenment of the age show the necessity for radical change. The relaxing of sectarianism as it has existed continues, and with it crumbles the chief reason for the multiplication of seminaries. Pathetically, exclaims President Little of Garrett with unintentional humor: "The theological school usually prepares its graduates for service in a particular denomination. Accordingly when denominational peculiarities are sharply accentuated this is decidedly easier than where denominations differ from each other but slightly" (23).

The logical outcome of denominational consolidation is economical union of seminaries. Unless the accomplished denominational federations are superficial and the heralded Federated Council of Churches was fictitious, the trend is toward the merging of denominational interests and the obliteration of those sectarian distinctions which are practically obstructive. What then is to become of the sectarian seminaries of which there are about one hundred and fifty in this country? With the neglect of sectarian differences by the denominations the way is paved for a broad basis of agreement, for the foundation of a most unique, and a religiously scientific, type of institution; one devoted both to instruction and to original investigation of the problems of religion, morals and racial development. Scientific methods could be applied to the questions of supreme interest to mankind, culminating in religion. In this University of Religion the religious requirements of admission should not be more than evidence of pure character and of the love of God and one's fellowmen; the intellectual requirements for admission would be college graduation with assurance of adequate preparation for research work, including a well grounded scientific and literary training. During the first two years the student would receive instruction and at least one more year would be used to

introduce the student into original investigation. Reduce to the minimum the study of Hebrew and of Greek texts and of worn-out courses that have relatively low claim to educational value in the light of modern thought. Substitute for these thorough training in the foundations of the physical and the biological sciences, in sociology, culminating in the new psychology. Stimulate and electrify the education of ministers by the granting of freedom of investigation and flood the courses of study with the light of research. No graduate would leave its halls without having penetrated to the frontier in some direction of knowledge, to reveal some new fact, to make some contribution to our knowledge of truth. The value of this requirement is that research to the student is an unequalled stimulus, "it is to science what faith is to religion." It would inculcate habits of thought tending to fortify the minister against early disqualification and premature mental death. And the actual results of the investigation of the great social problems and of the profound mysteries of religion might enable organized religion to make progress in the amelioration of human woe and of sin somewhat like the progress of electrical science and art during the past quarter century. The ancient languages, the prolonged dogmatic theologies, the nice exegeses, the various modes of which Farrar (15) shows have been utilized to the limit of human ingenuity—and absurdity, where based upon literal interpretation and letter-idolatry, and the strained apologetics of the old seminary curriculum, would give place to newer, more fruitful, more inspiring courses, backed by scientific method. The ministry is concerned with life in its richest phases, yet the seminaries universally omit the science of life, biology, from their curricula, or demanded preparation. Instruction in preaching, in pastoral service, in scientific theology, in the inexhaustible lessons of the Scriptures would go hand in hand with biology, evolution, practical sociology, child study, hygiene, modern pedagogy, general psychology and with the aspiring and promising psychology of religion. Every minister or religious layman who would go from here would be a specialist to cure the souls of men, prepared to attack sin and degeneracy, to lead in intellectual life, in philanthropy and to grapple with the mighty religious problems and moral issues that confront the century.

A possible prolongation of the seminary course from three to four or five years would seem warranted in the substitution of scientific stud-

ies and methods for much that is now taught. My investigation shows that the average age of 55 Episcopal clergymen deceased in 1904-1905, was *65 years 9 months 18 days*; of 187 Baptist ministers dying in 1905 the average age was *67 years 9 months 18 days*; of 80 Congregational ministers, *70 years 1 month 24 days*. Of 2,611 Congregational ministers deceased from 1881 to 1904 the average age was *67 years 7 months 29 days*. Average age of all the 2,853 ministers referred to was *67 years 7 months 17 days* (43). Reports of the Registrar General of England and of the Gotha Life Insurance Company of Germany shows the remarkable longevity of clergymen, compared with other professional men, in those countries.

The way of the young seminary graduate is from the school to quick popularity and a good income. It would be better if our system for training moral leaders would include a year or two of actual participation with world-toilers. A pedagogic authority of international reputation sends the following paragraph :

"One of the functions of the clergyman or priest is supposed to be to warn man night and day with tears. At the present time the trouble is that those who warn are they who have succeeded; more emphatic would be the word of those who have failed. How shall the smug complacency of success be a warning to any man? It is failure that serves as a warning; it is not exultation of one who has never seen the rapids and whirlpools of life, but the words of the shipwrecked mariner that are impressive. The serious lack of the young candidates for the ministry or priesthood is that having been brought up in the conventional propriety of a scholastic and ecclesiastical environment [they had no knowledge of how three-fourths of the world lived. And with this lack of a knowledge of life is inevitably correlated a certain lack of character. In some measure to remedy this ignorance of life it would be well if every candidate for the ministry were required to serve at least one *Dienstjahr*, to pass a year of service in philanthropic or missionary work, as a missionary on the frontier, a teacher in the Colonies or among the Mountain whites, or as a worker in the slums of a great city, as a chaplain in the army, or in some such service."

The young theologian can afford to extend the term of the old minister while he himself perfects his education as a physician of souls by strenuous contact with the toilers. He perhaps could preach livelier sermons, have more fire, understand actual life, better apply his university training, if instead of seeking at once the fine church he would after graduation become for a year, say, a carpenter's apprentice, or a bookkeeper, or a travelling salesman, or a helper in a slaughter-house, or a factory worker, or a car conductor, or a miner, or a broker's clerk, or a reporter, or a theatre-usher, or a department-store salesman,

or a laundry-hand, or a waiter, or a butler, or an actor, or a dairyman, or a hospital attendant—or enter some service in which thousands toil without hope. An actual short enlistment (not one for leisure hours) in life of this kind might be more fruitful than his settlement or social studies.

I do not imply that the seminaries be turned over to those men of science who have only contempt for organized forms of religion and who see in the churches nothing beyond their obvious defects and mistakes. There are Doctors of Philosophy in abundance who spurn religion, and there are also not wanting educated men who encumber themselves with few moral restrictions. There are men of scholastic attainments who are parading in the garb of scientists, denouncing dogma and anything that is time honored, who disclaim connection with any religious sect or fad, who in reality are typical bigots, and upon close investigation they will be found only to be vehemently opposed to that which heredity, early religious environment and bias have led them to hate, while of their own foibles they are extremely dogmatic advocates. Such men are as much a reproach to science as hypocrites are to the church. There are men enough whose hearts are aflame with the love of their fellowmen to whom the supreme problems of religion may be intrusted. I speak of religion in its broadest sense and of its interpretation and applications to-day. Let only Protestantism acknowledge the superlative value of scientific investigation, accept the demonstrated results of evolutionary science, and know that obstruction to full and free investigation increases suspicion, skepticism, and is an evidence of lack of faith in eternal verities—and there will be put into the hands of the sons and daughters of the Church utensils and methods that should bring new life to the philanthropic interests of the organizations and exalt religion.

The people of to-day are in quest of light (35), affirms Mr. Goldwin Smith; they want evidence, not assertion, truth, not fiction. The skeptic of to-day does not insist on going into the laboratory to test every truth, but he insists on the right to do so, and efforts to suppress investigation intensifies dissatisfaction. "I never could regard without entire aversion the notion of certain illuminists that truth was the privilege of the enlightened few, while tradition was the lot of the crowd." All skepticism is not of the immoral variety, seeking to escape responsibility, or of the metaphysical, quibbling sort,

and it may be even turned into disciplinary value. "A Ph. D. counts no more with a modern enquirer than the D. D.," nor does the patchwork compilation often labeled "research" deceive him. A reason is demanded for despair as well as for hope, and he refuses to applaud Haeckel denouncing religion and ridiculing dogmatism, when Haeckel (17) himself in his twenty-five categories, or ages, rises to the height of speculative dogma—notwithstanding his valuable services to biological science. Nor should these faculties of instruction and research be open to pettifogging professors or hangers-on at universities who claim to be scientists, but who often are nearly human automata covered with the dust of libraries. Spurning this type an indignant semi-ary president exclaims: "The world is a problem or a maze of problems for which solutions have been found in a few departments only, chiefly in the realm of physical science. The power and the impulse thus acquired by the physicists have led to a certain ostentation of scientific attainment altogether absurd. Every purveyor of interrogatives claims to be a man of science; and every proffered solution of a problem is boldly heralded as the latest result of scientific research. It is time to undermine this tower of Babel and blow it to the moon" (23).

The influence or control of a University of Religion by denominations might remain therefore as a wholesome safeguard in selecting the men to whom the development of the themes of religion and the instruction of its ministers would be intrusted. The actual administration could be put into the hands of boards, strictly non-sectarian and composed of capable men. This is a different matter from prescribing restrictions of thought or confining instructors to a repetition of tiresome dogmatic theologies and metaphysical speculation. Few men not of profound religious natures would engage for arduous work such as this, whether in faculty or in student body. And the strict surveillance of the controlling bodies over the moral character and conduct rather than the theories of the incumbents could bring together a faculty the like of which the world has rarely seen. The heredity, the physical characteristics, the personality, the training and the academic attainments of candidates for professorships should be weighed. Why should not an institution for the training of moral and religious leaders and standing for the best in human development make the highest demands upon its representatives? What better indorsement at once

of stirpiculture, of morality, of religion, could there be than the enforcement on the part of the church of such requirements as these? Essentially we substitute higher humanistic ideals for those of the sectarists which predominates in these schools to-day. Guarding the abuses of the German universities—and improving upon the pseudo-type of American universities—the great essentials of freedom in teaching and thinking, and of research, would be utilized; denominational control and self-respect would be maintained; it would not be unreasonable to expect unparalleled efficiency of the graduates.

For a system so full of promise for future generations it is probable that the American philanthropist would furnish capital. But other sources for the realization of this plan are available. Seminaries could be sold and consolidated; this would mean for scores of them to close their doors as seminaries and reopen as universities for the study of questions of morals and religion. Legal tangles and charter restrictions might present unavoidable difficulties to this in some instances. If a quarter of the value of church edifices could be utilized by the sale of superfluous and across-the-street Protestant churches it would suffice for the establishment and endowment of a magnificent university of religion. Again, if the Protestant church members of America, absolutely unaided by any of the sources above, were to contribute a sum averaging fifty cents per member, it would amount to over \$10,000,000, an adequate sum. These speculations, however crude, make it plain that from a financial standpoint no insuperable obstacle is present in the plan suggested, provided the will to create it be developed.

The bare outline followed in the considerations of this chapter now may be traversed. The training of ministers to-day is either by sectarian or other colleges from which young men pass directly into the ministry; or by special courses of study, with or without college preparation; or in the seminary, with or without previous college work. A brief survey of the German, English, French, and American university systems discloses freedom and research as the backbone of the German universities, which many consider to lead the world. Certain drawbacks, abuses and conditions in German education are to us obvious defects and warnings. The American universities generally emphasize instruction more than investigation, and there is not actual academic freedom. The theological seminaries are, with few exceptions, peculiarly conservative, and though the environment of the sem-

inary has utterly changed during the past twenty-five years, the course of study has not been adapted or materially altered. Ancient survivals continue in the theological curriculum, and particularly Hebrew remains a fetich. Abundant, fresh material is at hand for substitution. The comparative study of religions, psychology and its ramifications, religious experience, biology, mental and physical hygiene, child study, adolescence, suggestion and hypnotism, are subjects of vital importance to the modern minister. Provision for practical contact with the masses and for learning by participation with those who toil for daily bread is possible, as well as sociological study. The three-score years and ten of the minister warrant an extension of the period of preparation, which would afford a wholesome check upon early and easy popularity with the consequent crowding out of mature men, and also afford more time for needed training. The recommendations of President Eliot, and the later ones of President Harper, point the way to vast improvement of the seminary. These, however, insufficiently emphasize the boon of academic freedom of thought and speech. Truth cannot suffer ultimately by investigation; Protestantism by birth is allied with the spirit of intellectual freedom, but to-day, timidly shrinks from the destruction which precedes the construction inevitably resulting from scientific method. Opprobrium has been brought upon the terms research and freedom by scoffers, and against such the new seminary should close its doors. The present trend points to the consolidation of the sectarian seminaries into universities embodying absolute intellectual freedom and combining instruction with methods of research in social, moral and religious problems. Actual control of these institutions should be in the hands of inter-denominational boards, whose main efforts in the selection of faculties should be the discovery of all-round men, barring book-worms, freaks and geniuses, and tests of subscription to sectarian dogma. The financiering of such an institution presents no difficulty insurmountable in this day of stupendous projects.

The suggestions of need and opportunity of which we have caught glimpses indicate the sphere in which the graduates of such a system might labor. No artificial system can create true prophets, and it is presupposed that successful ministers will continue to be only men who combine prophetic hope, zeal for souls, and faith and conviction with native ability. It promises to train for religious service such

men, that they may have the evolutionary view of life, appreciating the present and full of cheerful expectation for the future of the race. For ministers trained to refreshing mental life, and who are not functionaries and ritualists, early retirement would cease. New respect, prestige, efficiency and moral reform would follow these men—a ministry rehabilitated.

IV.

GENERAL SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION.

The conclusion and summaries of the preceding sections preclude the necessity of a prolonged résumé. The conclusions are intended only as tentative inferences and suggestions, based upon considerable illustrative material which thus synthesized will, it is hoped, illuminate the religious situation preparatory to a solution of its problems by others. However crude may be the inferences, I must adhere to them until some one else collects and produces a wider range of facts and of illustrations bearing upon the same problem, instead of merely individual opinions. It remains to recall in perspective the topics treated and the remedies proposed.

There is a class from whom, on account of heredity and bias, one need expect only acrimonious criticism of religion, the churches and the ministers. If the sectarists have been guilty of blind and fanatical belief, a pathological state, equally have those guilty of extreme and vituperative doubt exhibited unhealthy conditions. Prof. James says that the extreme sense of reality and truth seen in drunkenness and nitrous oxide intoxication finds its opposite in the questioning mania, the "Grübelnsucht" of the Germans, or extreme hypercriticism and subtlety, "which may be paroxysmal or chronic." The altered irritability concomitant of neurasthenia and worse affections is often manifest in abusive and excessive criticism. A sane view holds the changes now transpiring as results of social evolution which eventually will bring to pass what is perfect. The churches and the ministers are close to the heart and life of the people, are maintained voluntarily by the people with sacrifice and prayer, and are the practical expressions of religious instinct that cannot be despised. Apparent dissolution of present forms should not be interpreted as signs of inevitable extinction of the ministerial profession, an opinion gaining credence

by the flocking of young men to medicine and the law; for this, too, is a phase of evolution. The words of Plato (31) spoken more than 2,000 years ago probably are applicable now, and we need not fear that the prophetic office will die: "When intemperance and diseases multiply in a State, halls of justice and medicine are always being opened; and the arts of the doctor and the lawyer begin to give themselves airs, finding how keen is the interest which not only the slaves, but the freeman of a State take about them."

The ministry as a profession is not a fixed entity; it finds normal development only when not arrested or perverted by interfering conventions, and adaptation to the largest possibilities of the race should be the key-note. The external aspects of the denominations of the United States are revealed in published opinions pro and con, and in available statistics. Pending a new report by the Government census, religious statistics are unsatisfactory, but an obvious fact seems to be the marked diminution in gains during recent years in the number of ministers and of members of the great Protestant denominational groups. More toleration and harmony, less basis for doctrinal sectarianism now exists; federations have been numerous. The artificial and dogmatic differences separating the churches are of less importance and many ecclesiastical tenets are openly ignored by good ministers and people. We cannot hope for a perfect amalgamation of the sects during this generation, but the trend is toward a sectarianism based upon racial and natural differences instead of upon credal technicalities. Race questions complicate the problem of practical union of the churches, although economy and efficiency and sentiment demand it. The period is one of uncertainty, unrest and transition.

Investigation shows that the actual reasons for the turning away of young men from the ministry chiefly are personal and subjective factors. There appears the common complaint against the limitations imposed upon the minister and of the changed industrial and social world, in which the minister is impractical. That many of the remediable restrictions are not being removed while superb attractions exist in the ministry according to the testimony of those who have experimental knowledge of the life—is the more lamentable.

An investigation of the mental attitude of more than a hundred church members discloses illustrative and suggestive information about the contemporaneous customs and ideals affecting the minister, and

of his value. In that chapter is depicted the ideal minister, morally, intellectually and physically. In contrast we see portrayed the practical pastor and how he must discharge the duties imposed upon him, with reference to belief, the sermon, communion, prayer, funerals, marriage, convicts and the insane and the multitudinous obligations of the pastoral relation, such as: attending sociables, reclaiming the abandoned, persuading skeptics, cultivating young people, hearing confessions, peace-making, finding work for unemployed, persuading to conversion, collecting money for missions, widows, orphans, education, charity, etc.; teaching or supervising in the Sunday school, making announcements, controlling sexton, the music, fighting saloons, taking interest in politics and other special activities. Many of these are trivial, others burdensome impositions by the world and the church, impossible of performance by one man whether he be a trained specialist or a religious jack-of-all-trades; while some pastoral activities are pregnant with opportunity for ethical and philanthropic service. The monotonous harassments of the ministry are detrimental to intellectual growth. Scores of undeveloped reforms are suggested within the churches and there is made plain the necessity for scientific education of clergymen and proper specialization of function.

A consideration of the obvious opportunities pressing upon the ministers and laymen of the churches when they have turned aside from the usual routine described, includes a plea for more attention to social distress rather than to devising means of escape from a transcendent devil. First there might be a revision of rituals, an abrogation of forms which are obstructive to church membership of pious men and which deter young men of the desirable kind from entering the ministry, and are a menace to the conscience of others. The religious periodical needs the attention of voting bodies where the rank and file of the ministry and the laymen control. A uniform raising of the standard for admission to the ministry with emphasis on sound scientific and literary training; better financial methods and just treatment of ministers; a renunciation of certain exemptions—seem imperative. A reinterpretation and practicalization of Christianity compatible with modern needs is demanded. The missionary spirit is the genius of Christianity and of every church that has grown measurably, but the direction of the enthusiasm and means of the churches to the salvation of the neglected at home who are increasing beyond

the growth of the churches, is of more importance for the human race than the immediate conversion of remote peoples to our way of thinking. The new ministry is called upon to make some contribution, by forcing legislation, arousing sentiment, by preaching, persuasion, vigilance, investigation, publicity or punishment,—to the prevention of sin and disease and their basis—the ill-use of wealth and needless poverty. Here enter specific problems momentous and promising enough to arouse a Paul.

We inquire of the makers of ministers, the seminaries, what they are doing in the present exigency. The origin of the seminary was in the two-fold desire to perpetuate peculiar religious views and to prepare an educated ministry. The first factor is disappearing; the second is more urgent than before. With best student material, greatest total capital and with demand for competent ministers, the seminary patronage has decreased and is decreasing. Its courses are undeniably antiquated; intellectual freedom is generally understood to be impossible in the seminary, and research and evolutionary studies are not adopted. The way to better utilization and to reformation of the seminaries is open.

The remedies suggested for consideration as first steps in clearing up the present religious situation in America may be grouped together thus: (a) Economical and practical federation of competing sects where no end, other than the propagation of credal differences is attained by separate existence. The sale of superfluous edifices and the reinvestment of the proceeds. (b) The equitable division by church officials and laymen of pastoral labor with a relinquishing of belittling conventions. (c) Specialization of the ministry, as, into, preachers, religious counsellors, sociologists, medical workers, etc. (d) Assumption of positive efforts of reform: (1) within the churches, with reference to revisions, adoption of policy of prophylaxis and prevention in philanthropic work, and of better financial methods; (2) without the churches, in co-operation with investigators in sociology, medicine and psychological science, for the solutions of such problems as those of child and woman-labor, poverty, the feeding of the people, debauchery of the rich and the protection of womanhood. Emphasis on preventive method need not imply the cessation of rescue work. For the seminaries: (a) The thorough revision of the curriculum for ministerial training with the purpose of preparing men to meet the larger

opportunities now open to a competent ministry. Less of Hebrew and linguistic studies, of dogmatic theologies and of ecclesiastical history is needed and more of the sciences. Essentially the admission of academic freedom and the method of original investigation are necessary. Practical experience of ministerial candidates in industrial and business life should be required of graduates before they assume leadership in the churches. (b) The amalgamation of isolated seminaries regardless of denomination into universities to be devoted specifically (1) to instruction of moral and religious leaders; (2) to investigation of the problems of religion and of racial betterment. The controlling boards of such institutions should endeavor to employ a faculty of men incarnating, so far as possible, high ideals of physical, intellectual and moral manhood as well as social qualities and teaching ability combined with a religious spirit, and this should be the test of employment rather than subscription to articles of belief.

I would not abolish the old-fashioned pastoral office, but would rehabilitate it, rid it of carking burdens, divide its labor and adapt it as an office of value to society. It is the rich core of the ministerial profession which time has proved valuable. The experimental worth of the ministry—providing the parasites, the ecclesiastical politicians and the weaklings, be eliminated—has not been over-estimated. The unknown, earnest minister is a tower of strength to the moral welfare of the world. Patience, wisdom, industry and love remain the indispensable qualities of a minister. Add to these the furnishings and the mental habit of university and of business life, to meet the incessant cry for the practicalization of the ministry. The anomalous status of the pastor to-day is largely due to the unreasonable demands of the congregation and of the world; partly to his own failure “to take the bit in his teeth”; but for want of initial insight, proper mental habit, unsuitable preparation, he can blame the assumed leaders in theological education, the seminaries. Let these resign to the universities their function or else bridge at once the chasm that separates them from the present day. Flagrant inactivity to the demands for improvement of courses of study, unpedagogic methods, unwise financial investments, and bristling resentment to investigation may be charged justly against the seminaries as a class. The average seminary is an institution out of harmony with the times.

In the seminaries there lies the possibility of great development.

Harvard College was established with the aid of the Puritanical spirit, and was repeatedly succored by lotteries, but to-day, as an independent university, is a foremost institution of learning. Remodelled, accepting the cardinal principles of freedom and research, requisite to intellectual growth and to disclose truth in its fullness, the seminaries closing doors to open again as a University of Religion, might relinquish the institutions useful in their day but now outgrown. The yielding of the seminaries to the processes of social evolution perforce may be to continued dismay at diminishing patronage, or to adaptation that will swing them into the current of progress, where all is change. If religion is as old as the human heart and will last as long, yet the external forms, ecclesiastical ideas and organizations as they exist are neither immutable nor final. "When the leaves of Autumn are withered and about to fall," remarks some one, "why waste effort in plucking them"? It is the provision for the new and budding life that deserves most attention. We turn away from the absolute iconoclasts, as well as from churchly obstructionists, to that truly pious but progressive element within and without the churches who would construct a firmer basis of faith and works amid the ruins of old systems; to those who with clear vision deny that all is lost and affirm confidently that the inexhaustible riches of the complete life are still to be realized.

V.

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THE MOVEMENT FOR ETHICAL CULTURE AT HOME AND ABROAD.

By M. W. MEYERHARDT.¹

The Movement in the United States.

INTRODUCTION.

The beginnings of the movement for ethical culture are interwoven with the past. Apparently it originated suddenly, receiving its impetus from a few exceptionally active leaders. Closer inspection, however, reveals the fact that logically, if not historically, it forms but the latest link in a long chain of religious development.

According to the traditional view, religion and morality have usually developed together. Leaving aside the early, frequently grotesque, stages, all religious movements must be regarded as distinctly ethical movements, for the purpose of all was primarily the spiritual ennoblement of mankind. This cannot possibly be disputed, if by religion there is meant not some specified type, but religion in general as manifested in its highest form. As proof may be mentioned the fact that, at all times, preachers of religion were recognized, by a large majority of men, as the natural guardians of the modes of living approved in their communities, and *vice versa*, that moral leaders have almost invariably been religious leaders, insistent on the unity of divine and human law. Pre-eminently is this true of the founder of Christianity, who was not simply the revealer of a new faith, but above all a moral teacher. He taught love of God and love of man not as two distinct things but as one—holding that either is dependent upon the other—that allegiance to God and allegiance to righteousness are identical. A similar view has been advocated by all great religious teachers and certain

¹To President G. Stanley Hall, for many suggestions and criticisms, the writer thankfully wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness, as also to the various gentlemen connected with the ethical movement in England, Switzerland, Germany, France and the United States, who kindly assisted with material in the preparation of this study.

philosophers of nearly every age, who declare that without religion, morality is a psychological impossibility.

To-day, if one wants to assert that religion embraces within itself the whole moral life and that it is impossible to apprehend duty unless we recognize the supremacy of the former, there is found no consensus of opinion. In the course of the last few centuries, profound and radical changes have taken place in the whole current of human thought. In science, in history, in theology, things which had never been doubted and which had been accepted with unquestioning confidence, have been analyzed and scrutinized, and this spirit of inquiry has reached even to the ultimate grounds on which religious belief is founded. There has been going forward a double action, a disintegration of all which seemed most solid in the beliefs of former centuries, and at the same time a crystallization of certain ideas floating hitherto undefined in the realm of human thought.

By this process of analysis and synthesis, the time when the essence of Christianity was believed to consist in a number of fixed dogmatic opinions and ecclesiastical customs was left behind, until, finally, at the opposite pole, after deduction of what seemed temporary and transitory coverings, there remained as the real permanent nucleus of religion the belief in the moral order of the world; the conviction that this constituted the heavenly kingdom and that it can be attained by the fulfillment of ethical duties.

It is, of course, out of the question to draw within an essay of this kind even an outline of the evolution of Christianity. But if, for instance, not to go back further, we cast but a glance at the history of Unitarianism, we get a fairly good conception of the thread of ideas, which formed the path on which a more liberal Christianity advanced.

While at first, to a certain extent, still believers in the supernatural and the miracles of the New Testament, and accepting without question most of the ideas which had been entertained by all Protestants from the days of Luther and Calvin, there soon arose within the Unitarian ranks a conflict of opinions. The same influences which had been responsible for leading them away from the Orthodox faith were causing the more radical to advance beyond their more conservative neighbors. Claiming that the church under which they had been brought up had lost sight of the spirit of the teaching of Christ by too much pondering the letter and had lost touch with the rich significance

of his words by running away in vain quest of metaphysical abstractions, there formed themselves some groups of men who began to work for what they believed to be a purification of religion. They were no longer satisfied to appeal to the Bible as a court of last resort, to shut themselves up in its enclosure and go no further, but they deliberately substituted a rational idealism for creed and adopted art, humanity and literature as the expressions of the divine mind. They proposed a new theory of religious truth and insisted that the spiritual message of Christianity was inward and not outward, directly to the soul of man, and not through the mediation of a person or a book.

"If" said W. E. Channing, "after a deliberate and impartial use of our best faculties, a professed revelation seems to us plainly to disagree with itself, or to clash with great principles which we cannot question, we ought not to hesitate to withhold from it our belief. I am surer that my rational nature is from God than that any book is an expression of his will. This light in my own breast is his primary revelation and all subsequent ones must accord with it, and are, in fact, intended to blend with and brighten it."

These men yearned for a higher, broader and freer conception of Christianity, believing that the power of Christ lay in his character, his spotless purity and his moral perfection rather than in the time during which he has existed.

Passing from the Spiritualism of Channing to the Naturalism and Transcendentalism of Parker, the more radical element of the Unitarian church through the latter became imbued with German theology and philosophy and the teachings of Kant, Goethe, Schleiermacher, Baur, and others of the Tübingen school found in their mind a soil prepared for them. They began to look upon the Bible as little above the authority of any other historical book and, instead of appealing to it for their religious ideas, turned to the soul of man and its intuitions. They denied that Christianity rests on the personal authority of Christ and regarded it, in the words of Parker, as "a very simple thing: absolute pure morality, absolute pure religion,—the love of man—the love of God. The only form it demands is a divine life—doing the best thing from the highest motives."

As might be expected, Unitarianism, although it began by the assertion of independence and freedom of thought, was startled to see its contentions carried to the logical conclusions of unrestrained specula-

tion and speech which, as it seemed, was leading to the boundaries of liberal theology. But extreme as these views appeared to the rank and file of Unitarians, there existed a radical element of free-thinkers who were bound to go still further. They insisted that the Intellect and not the Soul is the first authority in religion, and that "faith founded on knowledge and sustained by inquiry must be the spiritual religion of the future." Breaking away from Unitarianism under the leadership of O. B. Frothingham, the so-called "Free Religious Association" no longer required Christianity as a basis of ethics, for "rational religion," they explained, "believes in the natural capacity of men and women, in goodness as a legitimate product of the heart,—it believes that out of the raw material of human nature, everything that human nature has need of may be created."

From the standpoint of the future "Movement for Ethical Culture," or, of the movement as it was ideally conceived, the principles exploited by the "Free Religious Association" suffered from one radical defect, namely that of over-emphasizing Rationalism in religion. In so doing they incurred the danger of inciting conditions, which were bound to defeat their aims.

The snares of Rationalism are manifold. The unwillingness to accept Christianity unless enabled to attain a scientific and historical knowledge of its supernatural claims and the despair of any means thereof renders men indifferent, not only towards the church but frequently towards all kinds of religion. Moreover, perhaps but as the logical consequence of the agnostic attitude, which produces no body of negative propositions corresponding to the accepted creeds on the positive side, it develops a dangerous kind of individualism. With negations as the only bond of unity, each one is apt to attempt to solve for himself the problems which confront us and mere self-assertions often take the place of any conscientious search for fundamental truth. Again, wherever doubt fails to give birth to new beliefs, the ordinary mind is left subject to the influence of any crude and baneful theory which may chance to come its way and is tempted to try the agnostic principle in regions where it does not justly apply. Within the domain of religion such a procedure is followed by the most deplorable results, for it often has the effect of discrediting all rules associated with religious commands. In other words, together with theological dogmas, the moral precepts of religion are apt to lose

their authority, creating in men a tendency of abandoning in despair all attempts at a higher life.

These are conditions as inevitable as they are to be dreaded. In the past, minds of a high order, often full of genius and of wisdom, succeeded temporarily in checking disaster, by pointing out the luxuriant moral blossoms of Christianity, which like so many orchids attract the eye while their sweetness touches the heart. But in our modern age, with its perishing theologies, and Science and Philosophy presenting ever changing theories of the material and mental universe, men are bent on finding the root of faith from which such beauty has sprung. In turning to the church, however, an old decaying tree to which the delicate foliage lightly adheres, is, from their point of view, all they can discover.

As a consequence, the spectre of moral degeneration looms up with ever increasing force when those who should be their friends and counsellors only frown upon their misgivings and unable to proffer convincing truth, profanely bid them to stifle their doubts. Does not, under such circumstances, the advisability of establishing an independent Ethics become a burning question? For whatever else is doubtful, this, at least, is certain: whether or not there be a God and immortality, it is better to be generous than selfish, better to be true than false, better to be brave than to be a coward, better to be chaste than licentious. When beliefs and theories begin to crumble, the one way by which man may come forth scatheless from the struggle, is by holding fast to the simple landmarks of morality.

Such, in a nutshell, were the considerations which urged the necessity of bringing this era of individual iconoclasm to a close. As distinguished from the Free Religious Association, which expressed the libertarian tendencies of Emerson's thought, the Ethical movement attempted to realize his dream of "a new church based on moral science." It was the belief that the formation of an organization with certain clearly defined, positive principles would contribute to the accomplishment of this task and that "the basis of natural Ethics" is a platform broad enough to furnish a meeting place for all, believers and unbelievers, which called the new movement into life. To state them beforehand, the immediate motives for organizing a "Society for Ethical Culture" were:

- (1) "To teach the supremacy of the moral ends above all other human ends and interests."
- (2) "To teach that the moral law has an immediate authority, not contingent on the truth of religious beliefs or philosophical theories."
- (3) "To advance the science and the art of right living."

Historical Data.

The first "Society for Ethical Culture" was that in New York, organized May 15, 1876, by Dr. Felix Adler, the son of a Jewish rabbi, Dr. Samuel Adler. Although his ancestors in a direct line had been teachers of religion as far back into history as they can be traced, he had outgrown the ancient faith of his people. His contemplations had compelled him to adopt in its stead the idea that true religion must grow out of moral living and moral acting. Realizing the futility, as indicated by the history of the sects, of forming a Society whose principles, with a few changes and mental reservations, conformed in substance to the creeds and ceremonies of the old religions, he had come to the conclusion that such a Society must be established on a purely ethical basis. "Morality," he declared, "long accustomed to the watchful tutelage of faith, whose ancient strongholds have given way before the assaults of criticism and doubt, finds this connection loosened or severed, while no new protector has arisen to champion her rights, no new instruments been created to enforce her lessons among the people. As a consequence there is a want of purpose in modern society, a narrowness of vision which shuts out the wider vistas of the soul and an absence of those sublime emotions, which, wherever they arise, do not fail to exalt and consecrate existence." Hence it is necessary that the loftier purposes of life be again brought powerfully home to the hearts of the people, and the principal objects to which the new Society shall consecrate itself should be the moral elevation of its members, and the moral training of the growing generation.

All ceremonial and formalism, prayer, and every form of ritualism was to be excluded, in order to exalt the movement above the strife of contending sects and parties and have it occupy "that common ground where all may meet, believers and unbelievers, for purposes in themselves lofty and unquestioned by any." The Society was to be the first clear embodiment of the idea, that true religion is not dependent

on theological dogma; that its foundations are laid deep in the heart of man, in the facts of conscience rather than in a speculative theology. Nearly all religions teach, and philosophy affirms, that the true service of religion is the unselfish service of the common weal. There is in reality no difference in the law but only concerning the origin of it. Hence, though it be inevitable that differences in the creed continue, there is a sphere in which unanimity and fellowship are possible and above all things needful, namely in action. "DIVERSITY IN THE CREED, UNANIMITY IN THE DEED" should form a platform broad enough to receive the worshipper and the infidel.

The New York Society had from the start a goodly number of earnest supporters, yet, as far as active membership is concerned, the expectations of the leader were probably never realized. And again, for about seven years, the Society remained the only one of its kind. During that time, however, a number of young men, from various parts of the country, being attracted to the ideas which it represented, were studying under the guidance of Dr. Adler the Society's methods, thus preparing themselves to undertake the duties of ethical leadership. Finally, in 1883, under the leadership of W. M. Salter, the Chicago Society was established. Two years later, under the direction of S. Burns Weston, the Philadelphia Society was founded. A fourth one was established at Saint Louis in 1886, by W. L. Sheldon.

Each one of these Societies had a President and Board of Directors and was entirely independent from all others, so much so that no man was authorized to speak for the movement beyond giving his personal opinions or convictions. The meetings of Societies are held on Sunday, when lectures are given to which the public is admitted, so that many come under the influence of the movement, even if not directly allied with it. Each Society has a regular appointed Lecturer. Occasionally, however, others are invited to occupy the platform. As originally planned, the object of these lectures was to be twofold: (1) To illustrate the history of human aspirations; to trace the origin of what are believed to be the errors of the past and to point out the grander connections in which earthly existence stands everywhere with the larger life of the race. (2) To set forth a standard of duty; to discuss the practical duties of the day and to make clear the responsibilities which, in view of the political and social evils of the age, our nature as moral beings imposes upon us.

A full statement of Principles, drawn up as a proper basis for the organization of a Society for Ethical Culture, reads as follows:

“(1) We believe that morality is independent of theology. We hold that the moral law is imposed upon us by our own rational nature and that its authority is absolute. We maintain that the moral life should be brought to the foreground in religion.

“(2) We affirm the need of a new statement of the ethical code of mankind. The formulations of duty which were given by the great religious teachers of the past are not sufficient for the changed conditions of modern society. We believe that moral problems have arisen in this industrial, democratic, scientific age, which require new and larger formulations of duty. Hence a new interest in ethical problems and a profounder study and discussion of them are demanded.

“(3) We regard it our duty as a Society for Ethical Culture, to engage in works of philanthropy on as large a scale as our means will allow. The ultimate purpose of such philanthropy should be the advancement of morality. When we contemplate the low moral condition of society and its indifference to moral aims, we feel called upon to do what we can to raise our fellowmen to a higher plane of life and to awaken within them a deeper moral purpose.

“(4) We hold that the task of self-reform should go hand in hand with efforts to reform society. The mere fact of membership in an Ethical Society must be regarded as a tacit avowal of the desire to lead a wholly upright life and to aid in developing a higher type of manhood and womanhood than has been known in the past.

“(5) We believe that organization is indispensable to carrying out the aims of ethical culture and that this organization should be republican rather than monarchical. While we recognize the need of a public lecturer for the Society, we believe that the work of ethical culture in its broadest sense,—the study, the discussion, and the application of its principles, should be carried on as far as possible by the members themselves.

“(6) We agree that the greatest stress should be laid on the moral instruction of the young, to the end that in the pure hearts of children may be sown the seeds of a higher moral order, that early in life they may be impressed with the worth and dignity of human existence, and that the work of social and individual perfection may be carried on with larger and nobler results from generation to generation.”

The first actual results to attract attention are the works of philanthropy in which the movement has engaged. Although it stood apart from the churches, it seemed to be able to inspire men to much the same kind of efforts as the church has been supposed exclusively capable of accomplishing. The first practical work undertaken was to provide for a more complete mental and moral education of the children. A free kindergarten, one of the first in this country, was established for the children of the poor of New York. On the basis of this first step in education was gradually built up the so-called "Workingman's School," now called the "Ethical Culture School," which by some is held to stand at the head of all schools of this country as an exponent of modern rational methods of education.

At about the same time there was inaugurated a system of "District Nursing" among the poor. Trained nurses were appointed who went from day to day among the sick poor, each within a given district, and attended to the proper ventilation and cleanliness of their rooms, supplied any necessary articles, and saw that the physician's orders were observed.

A "Building Association," organized for the purpose of building better tenements for the poor, a "Summer Home" for children, free "Sunday Concerts" for the benefit of the working classes, a "Trade School" for girls, and other undertakings of a similar nature emanated from the Society.

Early in its history, there was formed a group of young men known as the "Union for the higher life," whose main purpose is that of promoting among its members purity as to personal conduct of life, but whose further aim is an increase in ethical knowledge and insight and the practice of charity, which must not be left to mere impulse but regarded as a duty.

Later the "Women's Conference" was organized, consisting of groups of women connected with the Society, whose work it is to raise a certain yearly sum for the managers of the charities of the Society,—to supply garments and other necessities for the sick at various hospitals and dispensaries,—to visit and teach crippled children,—to supply mothers with the best educational literature,—and to assist in practical efforts at improving the conditions of female wage-earners.—Besides these practical activities, monthly lectures are delivered, in which the Women's Conference seeks to discuss and define woman's

true position in the State, in industry, in science and art, and in the home.

"Sunday-ethical-classes" for children, and on week-days for advanced pupils, are conducted, in which instruction is given in religious history and the special duties pertaining to the life of young men and women are considered.

Although none of the other Societies are as large in numbers or play so important a rôle as the New York Society, yet there is a close resemblance in their efforts and work. The blending of "ethical religion" with practical measures for social reform is the striking feature of the whole movement in the United States.

In 1888 began the publication of the first official organ of the Societies, a quarterly called the "Ethical Record," which was continued for two years and a half, when it was succeeded, in October, 1890, by the "International Journal of Ethics," which, though not the official organ of the Societies, owes its origin and main support to them. From the publishing and literary headquarters in Philadelphia are issued monthly "Ethical Addresses," containing the more important lectures of the leaders, and the New York Society published for five years, bi-monthly, the "Ethical Record," a journal of practical ethics, and monthly "News-Letters," which has since been merged with the Philadelphia monthly under the title, "Ethical Addresses and Ethical Record."

In 1893 the four societies united in an organization called the "American Ethical Union." As given in its constitution, the general aim of the movement, as represented by this union, is to elevate the moral life of its members and that of the community. The special purpose of the union was that of strengthening the bond of sympathy between the Societies as well as all outsiders friendly to their aims; to publish and circulate ethical literature and to promote any undertakings which might require co-operation.

One of the results of this Union was the establishment of a "School of Applied Ethics" with a separate board of trustees, and not directly connected with any of the Societies. The work was divided into three departments, Religion, Economics, and Ethics. Summer sessions were held with lecturers coming from the leading educational institutions of the United States.

In 1896 the American Societies sent Delegates to the "Interna-

tional Ethical Congress," which met at Zürich, Sept. 7, 1896. There, the so-called "International Union of Ethical Societies" was formed. A more detailed account of the programme of this Ethical Federation will be introduced later.

Finally, an event worthy of mention, is the opening, in 1904, of a new and imposing home for the Ethical Culture School, a building facing Central Park, which contains five stories, besides basement and roof garden. In addition to the usual school accommodations, provision is made for domestic art, luncheon and domestic science departments, shops for wood and iron work, studios, laboratories, a school museum, a library, and an ethics room. The school is divided into three departments, with elementary, high, and normal school courses. A general account of the ethical instruction given may be found in the "Ethical Record, December, 1904."

Attitude Toward Ethical Theories.

If one were asked to sum up in a single sentence the general spirit or tendency which culminated in the movement for ethical culture, one would not be wrong in saying that it was a desire to propagate the faith that in the idea of the "Good" is to be sought the master motive for the whole burthen of existence and event, the only practical basis of religious fellowship and collaboration for people of varying philosophical belief.

In this tendency of thought the movement is by no means new. More than 2,000 years ago in ancient Greece, when the foundations of local religion and beliefs seemed to be disappearing, there arose an Ethical school which taught that, in view of prevailing conditions, new efforts were needed to set the world right in order to prevent stagnation and corruption. And again, turning to modern history, one cannot help reflecting upon the resemblance of the present situation to that found by Kant. Living in the age of Frederic the Great and Voltaire, when many of the educated classes had become indifferent to religion, because the speculative philosophies about God, immortality and freedom had lost their impressiveness, Kant attempted to revive religious sentiment through the belief in a universal moral order whose authority is derived by the practical reason discerning and enforcing obligation for and upon the will. To him all moral obligation was something wholly unique, and the recognition of the authority of

moral law, known as the sense of duty, a feeling which is ultimately unanalyzable.

The cry "back to Kant" has again and again been raised, and it is, therefore, not surprising that, with this familiar cry in mind, the founder of the movement for ethical culture seems to have assumed the burthen of his task. But he found conditions changed. The world was looking upon the past through the arch of experience. The age of naïve faith was not easily recalled. There were those to whom the connection of the idea of duty with a moral sentiment, which, as Darwin puts it, "is defined by saying it must be obeyed," implied a rather marked inconsistency. And if one believes, as not a few to-day do, that Kant, actuated by a keen desire to restore the belief in God, immortality and freedom which was destroyed by the disputes of philosophers and could not be re-established save upon new foundations, took Ethics only as a means for that end, the acceptance of his standpoint brings morality, although disguised under the veil of supremacy, as much into servitude to metaphysics as ever it was.

Kant's categorical imperative could hardly be expected to appeal to the radical element, who, in view of the light thrown by modern science on the nature and probable origin of the moral consciousness, refused to thus make morality the last of dogmas.

Defining a basis of ethics as the "reason why man must regulate his actions in a certain way," they contended that the moral "ought" which involves that which is called "good," depends upon the basis of ethics and is conditioned by the different answers given to the question: "Why must I feel bound by any ought or moral law?" In the old religions, so they argued, this why of the moral ought is explained by the will of God, and the movement for ethical culture, started because dogmatic religion no longer sufficed as a basis of ethics, must lay a new basis that will suffice, or lose its meaning.¹

One who realizes how difficult it is to make any statement in Ethics without taking either one side or the other of a disputed question, can easily appreciate the dilemma in which the leaders found themselves. A number of personal explanations followed, and the movement as such finally decided upon a non-committal policy. Inasmuch as its aim is "union of persons of different beliefs and philosophical opin-

¹ Controversy between "THE OPEN COURT" and "THE ETHICAL RECORD."

ions," it was held, "that an Ethical society should assert ethical principles as such against unethical principles" rather than one set of ethical principles against another. That, instead of beginning with a strong logical grasp of abstract truth and descending from theory to practice, the procedure should be reversed. "Ethics is a science and an art," explains Dr. Adler, and like Wundt and others he holds, that, as a rule, men agree on the question as to what is moral; opinions are divided only as to why it is so. Nevertheless, he continues, while as yet no true system of morals has been discovered, the movement believes, that in the course of time such a system may make its appearance. Its interpretation, on the other hand, will be possible only for those, who through moral experience have come into possession of the inner facts of the laws, with the meaning of which it deals. "The movement tries to realize the idea expressed in the sentence: Accomplish the deed, and you will know the creed." Hence its relation to ethical theories is one of analysis and hypothesis rather than of advocacy.

It is interesting to note, however, that in defining the attitude of the movement, the leaders, although apparently engaged in upholding this non-committal policy, all but commit it to one certain theory. In fact from the main tenor of their arguments one would be justified in saying, that practically it stands committed to that form of Idealism, which under the name of "self-realization" predominates to-day. The standpoint from which all proceed is that of the inner appreciation of moral values. But while Dr. Adler and Mr. Salter stand close to Kant, and Mr. Sheldon admires Fichtean Ethics, to the movement as such, morality consists, not so much in the control of general maxims, not in the subordination of the individual's will to norms and standards, but in the rich and full living out of an entire individuality, in the unfolding of an individual character. As Mr. Percival Chubb briefly states it: "To live out of our best self, that is the duty which, theory or no theory, we must fulfill to the best of our powers" (4).

The final goal of the movement, in the words of Dr. Adler (1), is "moral regeneration,—regeneration of the individual and of human society as a whole." The means by which it is hoped to reach this goal is education: "The combining of intellectual and æsthetic culture with genuine ethical culture." But above all "action." Virtue must not be taken in a neutral or even negative sense to mean mere endur-

ance, self-denial and constraint, but rather ought to bear the stamp of a positive ability, the power and readiness to do—and to do that which is required by law, by ideal, by social demands and by the needs of life.

The method to rouse men from their inertness should be that of propaganda. "The thing to do," writes Dr. Adler (1), "is for the teachers, the leaders, to see clearly the scheme of right living and to make others see it; to be aglow with moral passion and to kindle in others the same fire." By thus leading men into the ways of moral experience, it is hoped, that each additional fact to the fund of moral experience will be in the nature of a provocative for modifying, purifying and enlarging previous theoretical conceptions.

The attitude of the movement toward ethical theories is thus a peculiar one. For while apparently it observes strict neutrality and requires of its members simply "a pledge of moral endeavor and search, an effort to live the good life, to define it for self-guidance and find a sure foundation for it," unofficially, one might say, it looks upon moral development from the idealistic point of view.

As a basis for union or non-committal policy, as the hypothesis most commonly held by the leaders the idealistic theory.

Attitude Toward Religion.

Living in an age where new problems are constantly arising, generating doubts and perplexities for which in the opinions of many the solutions of other days no longer supply an adequate answer, nevertheless, one cannot fail to observe that in questions of religion all the early leaders, with a singular unanimity, have applied rigorously what Prof. Huxley chooses to call "the method of agnosticism." Although they want it distinctly understood that, as individuals, they are not agnostics, their earlier writings show beyond a doubt that they have arrived at conclusions which are apt to be the logical result of the application of this principle. Beyond the sphere of the present life and its varied experiences nothing can be known or recognized as surely existing. Empirical knowledge alone is the criterion of establishing facts, and any inferences drawn from these facts of a higher sphere of existence are repudiated as mere guesses or conjectures, incapable of verification.

In these views they coincide with all so-called agnostics for that is

practically the standpoint and the characteristic idea lying at the root of all modern unbelief. However, there is to be noted a distinction in the form which this idea assumes. The purely scientific position, for instance, leaves religion alone, and contents itself with stating that there is an ascertainable cosmical order which can be verified by science and that with this order we ought to be satisfied. "Why," writes Prof. Huxley, "trouble ourselves about matters of which, however important they may be, we do know nothing and can know nothing?—With a view to our duty in this life, it is necessary to be possessed of only two beliefs: the first, that the order of nature is ascertainable by our faculties to an extent which is practically unlimited; the second, that our volition counts for something as a condition of the course of events. Each one of these beliefs can be verified experimentally as often as we like to try" (14).

The ethical school, on the other hand, draws its code of experience from the study of human life and conduct rather than from the facts and laws of the cosmos, and advocates the reality of moral phenomena, and the value and beauty of all the higher aspects of life. But not contented with simply announcing this, they attempt, and that is the distinguishing characteristic, to construct out of these doctrines a religion. "Ethics," writes W. M. Salter (20), "realized in its meaning is religion; it is the only religion for the rational man. . . . In speaking of an ethical, an essentially practical religion, I have not in mind simply a few superficial improvements on the old religions. I mean not simply a little more 'practical work,' a little more attention to the necessities of the poor, a little better education of the young among them. . . . An ethical religion would mean this, but only because it means vastly more. It is nothing else than a changed thought of the nature of religion which I have in mind; namely, that it can be no longer for rational men of to-day to worship or pray, but to have the sense of a task, the sense of something limitless to accomplish, and to accomplish it." It is particularly W. L. Sheldon, however, who throughout his book, "An Ethical Movement" (22), tries to give to the ethical life the appearance of a form of religious life. To him the movement for ethical culture consists "of the serious and earnest individuals, who in the presence of the possible downfall of high character and nobler manhood, are becoming more and more willing to forget the other differences, to pass by diversities of theological or

philosophical belief in order to concentrate their attention upon rescuing and developing the moral ideal. The spirit, therefore, which now exists among a few, may by and by reach out over the world, and then the Universal Church will be constructed on the basis of an Ethical Society." . . . "From practical experience," as in former years from abstract reflection, he is convinced that this new spirit or tendency "will be the one surviving standpoint for the future religion and the future church."

In its early stages, as attempted by some of the leaders, the development of the movement may well be likened to that of the "Positive Philosophy" which, in tendency of thought, at least, it greatly resembles. According to Comte, the human mind, in passing from the metaphysical to the positive stage, must abandon the search of the Absolute, put aside questions of origin, and confine itself to the observation of phenomena and of their invariable relations. Taking the general facts of each science, and contending that we have no knowledge of anything but phenomena and that our knowledge of these is merely relative, he co-ordinated the constant resemblances which link them together, deduced therefrom general laws, and constructed out of this ensemble of systematic results a philosophy. But, being at first purely scientific and intellectual, and holding that the religious attitude of mind and also every religious idea must disappear, this philosophy at a later period underwent a considerable modification. Its object then was, not to completely do away with the religious element, but rather to harmonize it with modern thought. This second phase of his philosophy, "the subjective phase of Positivism," rests not on reason but on feeling; hence it aspires to become a religion.

In a like manner this new ethical school admits nothing which does not rest on universally admitted facts and laws; it limits our views to the mere facts of consciousness and, analyzing these, finds in them an adequate theory of moral duty. The belief in a deity, it argues, should not be regarded as the foundation and criterion of religion, and it asserts that the feeling of the sublime, the presence of the infinite in the thoughts of men, is the root of all religious sentiments. Again, just as Comte refers all sentiments of devotion to an ideal object, namely, the human race conceived as a continuous whole, "the Grand Etre," as he terms it, so the infinite nature of duty becomes here, so

to speak, a reality, the belief in which constitutes the essence of religion.

As to their right of calling a movement of this kind a "religious" movement, the question is one which can hardly be discussed here at length. There are few terms to-day so indefinite and ambiguous in their meaning as the term religion. Wherever theological influences prevail, there are, of course, no differences of opinion. The ascendancy of modern scientific tendencies, on the other hand, has brought forth views so radically opposed to each other, as to make it exceedingly difficult to limit the range of application of the term.

Granting, however, that there existed a justification for calling the movement a "religious" movement, it must be obvious, that the course which the leaders pursued, could not but have worked detrimentally to its aim, that namely, of enlisting the sympathies of both believers and unbelievers in a common cause. The manner in which they discussed such topics as "Religion," "Immortality," "why Christianity does not satisfy us," etc., had hardly a tendency to lessen the chasm which separated them from the church. Hence, the main success of the movement, at that time, aside from its philanthropic endeavors, may be said to have been, the providing of a Sunday meeting place for its hitherto unchurched members.

But, as one surveys the development of the movement, it becomes apparent that it has gradually drifted away from this original anchorage. As the real aims of the organization became better understood, the leaders became more and more imbued with the idea that its mission must be to build rather than to destroy. In consequence, not only has the movement as such lost some of its early austerities, but the personal opinions of the leaders also, perhaps by a natural process of evolution, perhaps under the mitigating influence of the philosophy which the movement represents, seem to have been in the course of time greatly modified. The earlier lecture topics largely gave way to discussions of the home and vocations, family relations, marriage, the training of the young, etc. And "instead of confining their efforts to but one department of morals, in which so far only co-operation to any extent had been secured, namely, in good works, it now became their aim to extend this area, so as to include a part, at least, of the inner moral life, by endeavoring to gain clearer perceptions of right and wrong and by studying the problems of individual, social and political Ethics."

The beneficial effect of this change quickly evinced itself. While, at first, the conservative element looked askance upon the movement and in some ways was strongly antagonistic to it, the opposition has now somewhat subsided. In fact, it is said, that, in many instances, the mechanic and the man of wealth are co-operating for the same purpose and that members of orthodox churches may be seen working side by side with religious radicals.

Another factor which probably aided in bringing about this result was the issuing of a statement in which the attitude toward religion of "the movement *per se*" was more precisely defined.

Herein it is maintained that there are two ways in which the word religion is commonly used. In the one sense it describes a passionate devotion to a supreme cause. In the other sense, it is applied to affirmations concerning the connection between man's being and the Universal being. The movement for ethical culture, it is asserted, is a religious movement in the former sense. Those affirmations, it is further explained, in regard to which assent is inadmissible, determine the collective character of a movement. In regard to the connection between man's being and the Universal being dissent among members and lecturers of Ethical Societies is admissible; hence "the movement as such" is not a religious movement in the latter sense.

Added to this explanation were the following modifications of former statements: "In the Ethical Movement, lecturers as well as other members, are free to hold and to express on the Sunday platform theistic, agnostic or other philosophical beliefs. But they shall clearly indicate that these beliefs do not characterize the Movement. They shall not seek to incorporate these beliefs into the statement of principles of an Ethical Society and they shall not introduce at the general public exercises of the Society forms or ceremonies which are founded on these private beliefs. But nothing in this paragraph shall be construed so as to exclude or reflect on the value of religious services among members of Ethical Societies when held in such a manner as to commit only those who take part in them. Members of Ethical Societies shall be presumed to feel a serious interest in the moral end, but they shall not be required to express a belief that the moral end is the supreme end of human existence. For though the supremacy of the moral end is implied in the very nature of morality, it is not to be expected that this implication shall be clear to all whose interest is serious

and capable of further development. Lecturers of Ethical Societies, however, shall be expected to possess as a sure conviction the cardinal truth of the supremacy of the moral end. All persons otherwise competent, who accept this truth, and who in virtue of it assign to the principle of righteousness the sovereign place in the spiritual life, whatever may otherwise be their philosophical or religious opinions, shall be eligible as lecturers of Societies.

Here then, it will be observed, the movement presents itself in an entirely altered attitude. It does not at all approach religion from a credal standpoint. It does no longer reject anything more than morality in the case, as unwarranted and illegitimate. It no longer regards the true content of religion and morality as identical but contents itself with simply announcing the basic importance and the priority of the ethical factor in religion. With Herbert Spencer, it asserts that the social mechanism does not rest finally upon opinions, but rather upon character, and that the establishment of beliefs depends upon the fitness of society for receiving them. What a man thinks is the result of what he is, and it is the moral fitness of self, therefore, the conduct and experience of the individual, which should form the base out of which a universal, vital and practical creed must be developed. As Dr. Adler puts it: (quoted in (10)) : "It is not at all the mission of the movement to furnish a complete new belief, a well formulated philosophy of life. For true religion, a blossom rather than a root, is a result and not a beginning. The one who on the threshold of life says to himself: What I need before I act and live, is a creed to guide and sanction my conduct of life, is laboring under a delusion. What he should say is: Before I can acquire a true religion it is necessary for me to collect out of my own way of living the empirical facts out of which to construct my creed."

As the movement progresses in time, its course of development assumes a truly remarkable aspect. The child of abandoned faith and scepticism, it has grown into what may be called an ethical movement in religion which, although outside of the churches, is not at all antagonistic to them. In fact, it shows an ever-increasing tendency to be in the least possible degree controversial and a disposition to assume a more and more friendly attitude toward the churches. While still adhering to the conviction "that moral truth is the main proposition from which religious belief, if deduced at all, must follow as a corrolary,"

all controversies are eclipsed by the call for personal devotion, the demand for self-discipline and wisdom, the gospel of righteousness.—Can this be called religion? Is it sufficient for those who have deep religious emotions?—The question seems one which the individual must decide. For, as Siebeck rightly says: “A peculiar world, which precisely fits man’s subjective needs, is the world of Religion”! (quoted in 13, a.)

Ethical Societies in England.

Ethical Societies in England, although they developed under another set of leaders, and independently of the Movement for Ethical Culture in the United States, nevertheless, were an outgrowth of the American movement. In 1885 a few University men in London became acquainted with the aims and methods of the latter and, believing that there was a scope for somewhat similar work in England, they resolved to form a society “for the purpose of co-operating in the establishment and exposition of the true principles of social morality.”

In England, perhaps more than in the United States, scientific discoveries and biblical criticism had severely shaken the influence of theological teaching and, with agnosticism in the ascendancy, a number of other factors, which further on will be dealt with at greater detail, seemed to combine in creating a particularly favorable field for the establishment of such an institution. Profiting by experience, and converting the stumbling blocks of their American colleagues into stepping stones for themselves, the leaders recognized, from the start, the necessity of being constructive rather than destructive in their action. As a consequence, the attitude of their Society towards theology and its exponents differed from that of the first American Society by the adoption of a strict policy of non-interference or neutrality. Thereby they not only avoided one of the greatest handicaps which the movement in the United States has had to contend with, but, knowing their fellow-countrymen as they did, they pursued the only possible course which promised any degree of success. “There are two points,” writes W. Cunningham (5), “in the mental attitude of Englishmen, which are at least less noticeable in other communities. There is, for one thing, a remarkably strong historic sense and regard for tradition. We have long prized our own, we have more lately learned to be respectful in our attitude towards those of other races.

The sentiments of other peoples, as embodied in their literature and institutions, have been treated with marked tenderness during the greatest part of the nineteenth century. So far are we from trying to stamp them out and force English habits of thought upon other peoples, that we are sedulous in the effort to exercise our influence to preserve and foster rather than to supersede."

What is here said in regard to peoples, may, perhaps, be equally well applied as to the English mental attitude of individuals towards individuals. Being deeply impressed by the historic value of the national creeds, the attitude of those estranged from the church is preferably one of "*laissez faire*" rather than of active opposition, and there exists in those moving for a wider view of Christian dogma, a deep-rooted disinclination to break with traditional forms.

Considering then these conditions, and appreciating the fact that in certain localities, especially in country places, the church represented the only spiritual life of the people, the leaders desired to be positive rather than negative. Nevertheless, it is self evidently more than probable that then, as is the case in many Societies at the present time, there existed a right and left wing, some few members being anxious to actively hasten the progress of rational thought, while others were more profoundly and hopefully in sympathy with all that appealed to them as best in the familiar creeds.

The first Society, established in 1886, was known as the "London Ethical Society," and in 1896 the North London, the South London, the West London and the East London Societies, which in the meantime had come into existence, combined and formed the so-called "Union of Ethical Societies." A short time afterwards the Battersea and the Portsmouth Ethical Societies joined the Union. Outside of this organization existed the London, the Belfast, the South Place and the Cambridge Ethical Societies. The total membership of these Societies at that time, according to a report of the secretary of the Union, was about 700, while to-day the membership of the Societies in London alone reaches nearly double that number.

At the present time the Union is composed of 23 Societies. Among the new additions the following may be mentioned as the more important: The Bradford, the Rochester, the Glasgow, the Greenwich, the West Ham, and the Edinburgh University Societies.

Unlike the Societies in the United States, English Societies, on

the whole, have none of the characteristics of a church. They may, indeed, be fitly described as lecturing and debating societies, with or without the addition of practical work, which, where attempted, to a certain extent resembles that in the United States. As a rule, they do not care for the services of an appointed lecturer but prefer to hear speakers who are independent. This absence of the strong influence of the personality and personal opinions of a permanent lecturer is declared to result in making English Societies more democratic than American Societies, and the discussions following each lecture have a tendency to arouse a more general ethical spirit among the members and increase their zeal for intellectual progress. Dr. Stanton Coit, of New York, formerly at the head of the South Place Society and now with the West London Society, is the only regularly appointed lecturer at the present time.

From the foregoing brief statement it would seem that the movement in England has taken root more readily and is gaining ground more rapidly than that of the United States. And if one looks for the causes which are responsible for bringing about this result, even a somewhat hasty consideration may suffice for making a few of these quite obvious.

There are current many widely differing views as to the elements of which human welfare consists and as to the relative importance of the factors which contribute towards it. Few, however, will venture to dispute the fact that material conditions and personal faculties and character react on one another. Where the days of men are fully occupied with the provision of the bare necessities of life, they have neither leisure nor inclination to acquire knowledge or a wider conception of the total meaning of life. But when no longer confronted by the necessity of spending all their energies in the improvement of economic conditions, men are more apt to concentrate them in building up their spiritual self and promoting the spread of education.

I do not by any means intend to assert that, generally speaking, conditions in England are more favorable in that respect than in the United States, nor to assign it as a reason for the lack of growth of the American movement. There are other reasons why that movement fails to reach the masses. But if one casts a glance upon social conditions in England, one must be struck by the character and work of the associations of English workingmen. Perhaps nowhere else as in

England have public opinion and the formal law of the country passed from their early opposition to trade unions, through criticism and reluctant toleration, to an almost complete acceptance and even encouragement, until to-day they have become a part of the regularly established institutions of the country. In fact, so assured seems their position and so completely have they passed the acute stage of battle for recognition of the elementary rights of the classes, that there has arisen the danger of the labor movement becoming stagnant. A fresh motive was needed, and its leaders were looking for new inspiration.

In many countries where labor is still struggling for primary consideration at the hands of the government, it is not yet secure in the enjoyment of the power of association to attend to its own interest and is, therefore, apt, from a sense of official want of sympathy, to ally itself with the socialist or anarchist opposition to the established order. In England, however, this anti-preparation for social welfare is of the past, and the mind of the better educated class of working-men, of which trade unions are composed, is more susceptible to the higher problems of human social life.

Again, if one were asked to name a parallel mental characteristic to the Englishman's deep regard for historical tradition, it is undoubtedly his principle of fair play, for all men to attain to the best that is in them, and a tendency to repulse attempts of interference with his individual rights. In England, as in nearly every country where religious instruction forms a part of the curriculum of public schools, a struggle is on between the various sects for the right of bringing to account their own particular theological views. Catholics maintain that their children should be instructed by their priests, surrounded by the symbols of their ceremonial; Protestants want the Bible and catechism interpreted in the spirit of "their" church; Hebrews object to the teaching of the New Testament, while Secularists regard all religious instruction in the public schools as a violation of the individual right of parents to bring up their children in accordance with their own beliefs. With moral education and the endeavor to separate Ethics and Religion as the central thought of the Ethical Movement and with the foundation in 1897 of the so-called "Moral Instruction League," to promote the introduction of moral instead of religious instruction in the public schools, it must be obvious that, by many,

Ethical Societies were looked upon as institutions after their own heart.

One other factor may be mentioned as favorable to the growth of the movement. In looking for means of checking the misery and wretchedness of the lower classes, the upper classes have become impressed with the need of a radical and more universal influence upon will-power as the means for a social renaissance. They have come to believe that, although by means of philanthropic endeavor it has been possible to alleviate much distress, it is a rather degenerate conception of welfare on which this sentiment has been based and that those, after all, are helped best, who are helped to help themselves.

Having thus far indicated conditions favorable to the movement, it is perhaps in order to point out some obstacles by which it is confronted. Foremost in this connection must be mentioned the church. Not so much on account of active opposition, but because the church, conscious of her power, almost entirely ignores the movement. The church in England, while in a measure bound up with the historic past, is at the same time thoroughly in touch with the spirit of the present age. However conservative in other respects, she has shown a peculiar aptitude for unifying old forms with more modern requirements, and instead of antagonizing them, has taken the lead in many humanitarian efforts of reform. As a consequence, even agnostics, together with all the best citizens, recognize in the church an institution which, on the whole, satisfactorily tends to benefit the spiritual life of the people. In spite, then, of all disagreements and secular tendencies, in no other country of the world perhaps does the influence of the church upon the educated of all classes compare with that in England, and thus, as Dr. Stanton Coit relates, while many of them are heartily in sympathy with the aims of the Ethical Movement, where 500 sympathize, hardly one can be found who feels prompted to join (10 No. 2).

Logically connected with this regard for the church is the tendency to arbitrate disputed questions, and to compromise rather than oppose. "After all," writes J. R. Seeley (21), "Christianity is the original Ethical Society. . . . It is a pity that in a Christian country it should be necessary to found Ethical Societies at all; it would be arrogant, and, at the same time, it would be suicidal, for these Societies to hold themselves aloof from the Christianity of the country. Rather let the

new influence blend freely with, and even be prepared to lose itself in, the old. . . . I am in favor of what some have called compromise. Surely we moderns do not believe much in cataclysms. Development is our word. The present grows out of the past. The most vital, the most influential ethical teaching of the present day ought to grow out of Christianity." These utterings typically illustrate the inherent disinclination of educated heterodox Englishmen entirely to break away from the church and lead to the conclusion that, although, as indicated by the establishment of numerous new Societies, the movement apparently was making rapid progress, its spiritual influence, judged by the standard of the American movement, was relatively small.

From what has heretofore been said it must be clear that the path of least resistance to success points in the direction of the so-called middle and workingmen's classes, and it is indeed from here that the greater part of the membership of these Societies seems to have been recruited. While such men as Prof. Muirhead, Bosanquet, Bonar and others, upon whom the ethical influence of Thomas H. Green, of Oxford, had been profound, were identified with the establishment of the first Society, and such as Seeley, Caird, Leslie Stephen, and Sidgwick felt the importance of the new ethical propaganda, early in its history the movement came into close contact with the Labor Movement of the country, a fact which not only explains its success with the masses, but which proved of great significance for shaping its future course.

Its drift may well be conjectured by noticing some of the changes in the title of a Periodical which, edited by Stanton Coit and J. A. Hobson, is being published as the organ of the Ethical Union. It made its appearance in 1898 as "The Ethical World," to which in January, 1900, was added: "devoted to the progress of democratic morality." Later in the same year this was changed into "an organ of democracy in religion, education, art and politics." Finally, in 1901, the word "Ethical" was relegated to the rear, and it assumed the title: "Democracy,—an organ of ethical progress." These changes clearly reflect the tendency of the movement to ally itself more and more closely with the democratic movement of that country.

As is well known, the English government has, as an essential characteristic, an oscillation, which places the supreme authority alternately in the hands of two opposing political parties, the stratification of which is historic rather than economic. From time immemorial, cer-

tain families and localities have been attached to one party or the other, independent of any present utility. In contemporary society, however, the distinction between the political parties and the social classes is no longer strictly maintained. In the struggle for existence, present interests have created affinities which outweigh all others. Separated at the beginning of modern times by a relatively low barrier, a gulf has opened up between the social classes, who are gradually becoming transformed into parties, each one of which attempts to make use of the law to protect itself and to fortify its position. Looked at from the distance the parties are composed of the gentry, that is the class of great landed proprietors and the leaders of industry on the one hand, and the agricultural and operative classes on the other.

It was largely of these latter, we have seen, that Societies of the Ethical Union were made up; hence, bearing the former facts in mind, future developments in the Movement, to a certain extent, were to be foreseen.

Being, for instance, obliged to look for financial support mainly to the working classes, it was to be expected that the movement would be hampered by a lack of funds. As a consequence, it was compelled, for a number of years, to enlarge its membership by individual solicitation. Although consoled by the thought that numerical strength, after all, is only a means to the end, it was recognized that smallness of number, as illustrated by the history of the sects, is apt to lead to idiosyncracies and to one-sidedness of convictions. Not, however, until 1898, when the so-called "Society of Ethical Propagandists" was formed, did they succeed in pushing organization on a larger scale.

Originally the object of the Ethical Union was thus defined:

(1) By purely natural and human means to assist individual and social efforts of right living.

(2) To free the current ideal of what is right, from all that which is merely traditional or self-contradictory, and thus to enlarge it and perfect it.

(3) To assist in constructing a theory or science of right, which, starting with the reality and validity of moral distinctions, shall explain their mental and social origin, and connect them in a logical system of thought.

In 1901, however, this programme was amended by the addition of an article which reads as follows:

(4) To emphasize the moral factor in all personal, social, political and international relations.

This change evidently was intended as an opening for the growing tendency to identify the problems of the Ethical Movement with democracy.

The initiative for this coalition was taken by the leaders of the labor-movement, who, in the growing political power of the masses, observed with alarm the first signs of democratic corruption. Men in the employ of the cities attempted to use their influence as voters for the purpose of securing material advantages for themselves, and, in the course of a few years, abuses had grown to such dimensions that many became convinced that, without an extension of their ethical horizon, the laboring classes were unequal to the occasion of grappling successfully even with the most immediate propositions. As a consequence, they became imbued with the idea that, while possibly political and economical conditions might be improved by other means, the highest reaches of social order could only be attained, when civil institutions were permeated by a high sense of public duty, when individual rights also implied individual duties, and when actions reflected ethical ideals and hopes.

It is obvious, however, that men relatively low in the cultural scale, might have found it difficult to grasp such lofty aims. The masses are not wont to revel in abstractions. A faintly indicated ideal of "the good and happy life" is too alien to the ordinary mind. In England, moreover, if certain authors are to be believed, this feebleness of the power of abstraction is more pronounced than elsewhere. And again, it has been often said that the English nation is above all things utilitarian, in fact, that every form of moral obligation historically originated in a question of utility. Whether this be true or not, one must admit that the average Englishman is exceedingly practical. Action for action's sake, is the foremost, the guiding principle of his life, and his mind preferably is impelled towards concrete realities. Hence it seems not at all surprising, that to certain members of Ethical Societies "to strive for the objective good" was an aim too far removed, that their ideals craved for outward expression, for practical application to the immediate conditions and necessities of life, and that their dearest hopes centred in the establishment of a new and higher Social-Democracy.

Nevertheless, it must not be understood that this course was coun-

tenanced by all members of Ethical Societies. There were those who believed that the label "democracy" would repel a great many high-minded and clear-sighted men and women, to whom this word, brought down from the times of Attic mobocracy, might seem least of all adapted to express the social and political hopes of the present age. Taking their cue from the Platonic interpretation of the term, they pointed out that *κρᾶτος*, force, power of the multitude, suggests only absence of all direction, principle, or originaive rule, and that to many, in fact, it might seem but another name for anarchy. While such a name, therefore, may serve to attract all so-called radicals, they held it to be of greater consequence for true progress to meet the doubts of the more thoughtful and resisting upper classes by avoiding, even in regard to externalities, all possible chance of misinterpretation. They by no means underestimated the importance of attending to the practical questions of the day, but insisted that they be studied dispassionately and objectively, and, above all, emphasized the need of accentuating, again and again, the fact that social and political attainments, in order to be of real value, must be accompanied by an individual adjustment, moral as well as intellectual.

That these opinions carried some weight is again to be seen from subsequent changes in the title of the official periodical. It was successively called "Ethics," "Ethical Review," and finally changed back to its original title.

Dr. Stanton Coit's conception of the movement had been, from the very beginning, that ethical culture is destined to replace the church and religion of the past. He went, indeed, so far as to propose the abolishment of the words "culture society," and to adopt the name "Ethical church." By so doing he evidently hoped to be able to ally to the movement the so-called labor churches and kindred groups of free thinkers. These labor churches were a kind of free religious associations with conspicuously ethical tendencies. They were sometimes called the Salvation Army of the better educated workingmen classes. But although closely related in tendency of thought, efforts to merge them in the Ethical Movement were met with unexpected resistance. The maxim "morality as our God," whereby the moral ideal is posited as the *one* object of reverence and trust, did not appeal to a large part of their membership. They were not prepared to reject their belief in immortality, to repudiate veneration for the infinite and the absolute,

and insisted on bringing their Ethics in accord with these ideas. Notwithstanding these divergences, five labor churches were finally induced in 1902 to join the Union of Ethical Societies.

Being composed of all these varying elements it follows that the movement in England could not be expected to exhibit that unanimity of aim which characterizes the Societies for Ethical Culture in the United States. There is the aggressive group, whose aim is social reconstruction, and which sharply criticises all theology; the quietistic group, which in contemplative retirement prefers to cultivate the inner life; the ritualistic Society, which surrounds the gospel of humanity by a cult full of ceremonies, music and brilliant equipment; the idealistic sects, who proclaim the doctrine of self-perfectionism as a continuous approach to the spirit of the Universe; the utilitarians, who want to judge all private and political actions with the handy measure of universal hedonism; the anthropologists, who try to elucidate the problems of conduct by research of primitive culture; and, last but not least, the poetically inclined, who render in melody and verse their human inspirations and hopes (10 No. 2).

This apparent lack of cohesion, however, is due, perhaps in a greater measure, to the comprehensiveness of the purpose of the movement, and shows the difficulty, for a purely practical organization without a definite working basis, to maintain effectively so extended an aim as that of bettering the general moral standard.

There remains under the film of all these differences, as the one common aspiration, the effort to mould the moral personality. "Character and right conduct are the most important factors in life," is that which is stated or implied in the manifestoes of all Societies and moral instruction, therefore, may be said to be the centre of gravity toward which all forces converge. The London Ethical Society cultivates particularly the academic study of Ethics. It called into life the so-called "School of Ethics and Social Philosophy," where courses in moral philosophy are given, arranged in such a manner as to lay no undue stress upon any one of the current ethical theories. More recently it has increased its activities by offering courses of lectures to local Ethical Societies in London. Among the courses for 1905 the following may be mentioned. Prof. Patrick Geddes "Evolutionary Ethics based on Natural Science and Sociology," Dr. Stanton Coit "The Dynamics of Democracy" and "The Philosophic Conception of

the Church," Rev. R. H. Greaves "The Evolution of Christian Doctrine," and Mr. Harry Snell "Famous Cities, their history and evolution." Besides these courses, classes are held in German, French and Esperanto.

The chief efforts, however, of all Societies are concentrated upon the teaching of moral ideas to the young and, more specifically, upon the introduction into the public schools of moral, in place of, or at least independent of, religious instruction. To promote this aim the so-called Moral Instruction League was formed, an organization which originated in 1897 at a meeting called for this purpose, and attended by delegates from a number of Ethical Societies, from branches of the Social-Democratic Federation, and from the Independent Labor Party. The agitation also had the support of Mr. Frederic Harrison, the leader of the English Positivists.

The introduction of moral instruction in the schools is opposed, principally, because it is held that, eventually, it might be used as a weapon against the church. But, as the league contends, wrongfully so, for this instruction, it points out, has nothing to do with religion. Its necessity arises exclusively from pedagogical and social causes. While sound pedagogy demands that all instruction begin with that which lies nearest, religious instruction begins with the highest mystery. How can a child, it is asked, understand the divine sacrifice incumbent in the death of Christ if it has never experienced what it means to make a sacrifice? The mind of children should not be weighted down with these deeper things before moral instruction has built a bridge between Bible and life and has prepared an intellectual path to the highest spheres of life.

Moreover, it is argued by the leaders of the movement that even its opponents, in a way, almost daily, yes hourly, introduce some kind of moral instruction, unfortunately, however, usually at the most inopportune time. They scold and preach morals, when some little offense has been committed, when the teacher is excited, the pupil defiant, and when neither is in full control of his mental powers. Thus the child only hears of the moral law when it is punished in its name. Others speak as if there were something shameful in mentioning virtue directly, but perfect propriety in smuggling it in under pretence of geography, history or what not. The new pedagogy differs from this kind of instruction merely by choosing the correct psychological

moment for its discussions, by shaping them, not to fit one particular case, but by considering impersonally the larger moral problems of life, and finally, by planning and imparting the lessons "systematically."

The activities of the League consist of propaganda, attempts to elect for legislative offices men who are pledged to its aims, and petitions to the educational authorities. For a number of years their efforts were not conspicuously successful. The educational act of 1902 provides in regard to religious instruction no significant changes from the famous "conscience clause" of the act of 1870, by which "admission to the school must not be conditional on a child's attendance or non-attendance at any Sunday-school or any place of religious worship outside the school, or at any religious observance or instruction in religious subjects inside the school or elsewhere, from which he may be withdrawn by his parent."

Lately, however, the perseverance of the work of the League has made more impression and in some quarters has even produced visible results. In 1902 Leicester's Education Committee consented to introduce moral instruction, and weekly half-hour moral lessons have since then been given to the children in all the standards of the Leicester Council Schools. The following is a condensed version of the first official report :

(1) The children almost universally like the moral instruction as a class-subject, and even elect to have it when a choice is presented by the teacher.

(2) The teachers generally like it, but this is not so much the case in regard to the younger teachers, who feel the difficulty of the subject.

(3) Some of the head teachers think it least profitable in the lower Standards. The inspector adds, however, that all subjects in these standards are liable to the same remark. He thinks that at these stages the children are specially plastic to moral impressions.

(4) The lessons should be more conversational. They are already so in some schools, and in these schools the instruction is found to be an aid to discipline. -

(5) In general, the inspector thinks, the introduction of the subject has done good.

Having once shown the practicability of systematic non-theological



Moral Instruction, which, in the opinion of the League, is the only solution of the present religious difficulty in education, its progress has been a more rapid one, and from the present outlook it seems not too much to say, that the attainment of its ultimate aim, a national system of universal secular education, is merely a question of time. Up to 1906 over fifty Education Authorities have taken some definite action in the direction of the proposals of the Moral Instruction League. Twenty-seven Education Authorities, including seven counties, sixteen boroughs, four urban districts, and comprising more than 3,000 schools, have now provision, or have decided to make provision, for systematic Moral Instruction. In nearly every instance this provision is made in addition to the Scripture Lessons and as part of the secular curriculum of both provided and non-provided schools. A number of Education Authorities have adopted, with very slight modifications, a "Graduated Syllabus of Moral Instruction and Training in Citizenship" for elementary schools, issued by the League. This Syllabus is the result of the prolonged deliberations of a Special Committee of the League, assisted by expert advice from many directions. The figures in the Syllabus (which can be obtained from the League), do not necessarily imply that the lessons are to be given in that particular order. Much is left to the individual genius of the teacher, who is advised, however, upon the following points:

To extol the good, rather than warn against evil. To take a broad and organic view of life. To inculcate a love for inanimate nature, of plant and animal life, of science, and of the beautiful. To encourage a love of the thorough in all its forms. To lead the child to see that the moral ideal applies to feelings and thoughts as much as to outward conduct. To choose illustrations from nature and history rather than from fiction.

The following text-books are recommended:

For young children.

ALICE M. CHESTERTON. The Garden of Childhood.

For children aged 10 to 14 years.

F. J. GOULD. The Children's Book of Moral Lessons.

A. J. WALDEGRAVE. The Teacher's Handbook of Moral Lessons.

H. H. QUILTER. Onward and Upward.

F. W. HACKWOOD. Notes of Lessons On Moral Subjects. (40 lessons for the use of teachers only.)

For older scholars.

C. C. EVERETT. *Ethics For Young People.*

Germany.

In Germany, the Movement for Ethical Culture is represented by the so-called "Gesellschaft für ethische Kultur," consisting of a number of divisions and branches which are located at Berlin, Breslau, Danzig, Darmstadt, Dresden, Frankfurt a./M., Freiburg, Hamburg, Jena, Königsberg, Leipzig, Magdeburg, München, Münden, Offenburg, Oranienburg, Stuttgart, Tilsit, Ulm, and Wiesbaden, twenty in all. A majority of these have a membership of from 80 to 200; a few exceed this number, while the division at Berlin, as might be expected, is by far the largest. The total membership of the Society fluctuates between 2,000 and 3,000, thus equalling numerically the Movement in the United States.

Five members in a locality suffice for the establishment of a branch, while more than fifteen members are required for the formation of a division. Each branch chooses annually a so-called Obmann, who combines the offices of chairman and treasurer, and a so-called Revisor, whose functions are those of an auditor. At the head of each division is a President, a Vice-president, a Secretary and a Vice-Secretary, constituting a Board of Directors which, if occasion requires it, may be re-enforced by the election of three additional members. The auditing is here performed by two Revisors.

Unlike American Societies, these divisions and branches are not accustomed to meet regularly on Sundays but arrange to have meetings once a week or once a fortnight, preferably on week days, to listen to a discourse on social or ethical topics, which is followed by a general discussion. For purposes of propaganda, or whenever it seems desirable to influence public opinion in matters of public interest, public lectures are given. More recently, some of the prominent men in the movement have been appointed itinerant lecturers. They propagate the principles and aims of the movement for the purpose of establishing new Societies, visit already existing ones and deliver courses of lectures.

The affairs of the movement as a whole are looked after by an Executive Committee (Hauptvorstand), consisting of from 15 to 21

members, at least 7 of which must be residents of Berlin or its suburbs. Its main functions are propaganda, external representation of the movement, administration of financial affairs, subsidizing divisions for special purposes and the appointment and direction of the so called Gesellschaftstag. The latter must take place, at least, once in two years but usually assumes the form of an annual congress. It is participated in by delegates from the various divisions, each one of which is entitled to a delegate for every 100, or part thereof, of its membership, and by 5 representatives of the Executive Committee. Here the latter's report is received, a new Committee is chosen, and questions of common interest are deliberated upon.

Of the practical works of the German Societies the following deserve mention :

(1) The Bureau of Charities, which gives personal or written assistance to persons in need of help, or information, based on reports by local charitable institutions, to those who desire to help others.

(2) Systematic instruction to members of the Charity Bureau by means of (a) correspondence and investigation by the members, and (b) lectures, conferences and reports.

(3) Systematic and scientific study of relief work on ethical lines.

(4) The establishment of public libraries and of public reading rooms in some of the cities, institutions which do not abound in Germany.

(5) Public lecture courses on questions of law, of economics, of hygiene and of education, have been organized by some of the divisions.

(6) Popular Sunday evening entertainments during the winter, which, by a merely nominal admission fee, are calculated to appeal to the masses.

(7) Moral instruction for the children of members, provided by most of the divisions.

Under the supervision of Dr. Rudolph Penzig, author of "Ernste Antworten auf Kinderfragen," the movement issues a semi-monthly Periodical "Ethische Kultur," an organ for the promotion of ethical and social reforms, and a monthly supplement, consisting of leaflets for moral education, called Kinderland.

Finally, it may be mentioned that in 1894 the Society offered a prize of 4,000 marks to the author of the best popular handbook of

Ethics, based on scientific methods, to be used by teachers and parents for the inculcation of purely ethical principles without religious, metaphysical or materialistic bias. In 1897, however, a committee, appointed for the purpose of examining them, decided "that none of the 22 books which had been submitted met the requirements in such a manner as to deserve the prize. The competitive prize offer was consequently withdrawn and a standing offer of about \$500.00 for a satisfactory handbook was substituted. In 1904 a portion of this price was awarded to Dr. A. Döring's "*Handbuch der natürlich-menschlichen Sittenlehre für Eltern und Erzieher.*"

Like the English movement, the Movement for Ethical Culture in Germany received its impetus from the United States. It was G. von Gyzicki's translation of Salter's book "*An Ethical Religion*" which first aroused interest in the aims of the movement and a visit to Berlin in the spring of 1892 by Dr. Adler directly culminated in the establishment of the first German Ethical Society, the division at Berlin. In connection with a discourse upon "*Ethical Societies in the United States,*" which Dr. Adler delivered, he conferred with a small circle of friends on the advisability of transplanting these institutions to German soil. A preliminary circular (*Vorbereitende Mitteilungen eines Kreises gleichgesinnter Männer und Frauen*) was published and later invitations for a general assembly were sent to all those who were thought to be in sympathy with the ideas which the movement espouses. This assembly met on October 18th, 1892, and was attended by a number of prominent men, of which some, *e. g.*, Prof. Tönnis of Kiel, and Prof. Häckel of Jena, had journeyed to Berlin expressly for that purpose. On November 6th of the same year the Society was formally established with Dr. Förster, Professor at the Berlin University and Director of the Royal Observatory, at the head of the Berlin division, which started with 200 members. On the same day the divisions at Kiel, Magdeburg, Breslau, Frankfurt a/M., Jena and Freiburg were admitted. The total membership at that time was in the neighborhood of 500.

In its origin the German movement bears a close resemblance to the English movement, because, as there, its leaders were University men, and again, as in England, the movement spread rapidly to other cities.

Two factors chiefly may be said to have been responsible for this.

While it is true that historically the movement was brought over

from the United States, one would not be wrong in asserting that by gaining ground in Germany, it only returned to its spiritual point of departure and naturally found there a soil prepared for it. It was in Germany, it will be remembered, that Dr. Adler had completed his studies and taken his degree. It was in Germany where the negation of the 18th century was overwhelmed by the constructive philosophical systems of the early decades of the 19th, only in turn to go down again before the onslaught of the empirical and historical sciences. It was here where Kant had held that all religion should be referred to morality; that morality will lead to religion; that the church is an ethical community which interprets virtue as divine commands. And to this very day his dictum of the categorical imperative has remained the key note of German intellectual and ethical life. Indeed it is hard to conceive the vast influence which the Königsberg philosopher, in spite of the powerful reaction emanating from the researches of Darwin, still exercises over the best German minds.

On the other hand, it was also in Germany where the issue of Kant's Dialectic of Pure Reason, according to which ideas may be not only possible but even necessary to thought without our being able to predicate objective truth of them and which obviously is the fundamental principle of scepticism, was often taken literally.

It was here where, protesting against the anthropomorphic notion of God, which in his eyes was blasphemy, and against the exclusiveness and hostility to nature of dogmatic Christianity because it appeared too small and too narrow, Göthe wrote: "He who has science and art, has religion."

It was here, where Krause, although in the spirit of genuine Protestantism, maintained that religion is not primarily a social relation of man to man, but an affair of the individual, an affair concerning his own innermost and most private life, which is to be known and lived originally by him.

In a word, to a certain extent, it was German philosophy and German criticism which had germinated the ideas out of which the Movement for Ethical Culture evolved.

A second factor, and the immediate cause for the keen interest of German free thinkers in the movement, was the presentation in 1892 of a reactionary school regulation by the Prussian minister von Zedlitz-Trützschler. Disturbed by the progress of liberal ideas and

forced by political conditions to make concessions to the church, the government attempted to establish closer connections between elementary education and religion and between the teaching staff and the clergy. Although the project never succeeded in advancing beyond the preliminary stage, the clerical claims to control of the schools increased in such a measure and the church, reversing her ordinary attitude in the so called *Kulturkampf*, became so aggressive that the state and the liberal minded withstood the pressure only by active resistance. A modest publication by Prof. Förster aroused the fearless liberal press to spreading the cry of alarm and rallied all those who looked upon secularization of the schools as the Palladium of liberty.

In view of this parentage it was but to be expected that in Germany the relations between the movement and the church reassumed that antagonistic character which in America is apparently a thing of the past. This antagonism evinced itself from the very first, even during a discussion of the prospective constitution of the Society, when many unhesitatingly demanded openly that a position against the church should be taken. Although nominally favoring a neutral attitude, this hostile undercurrent has, to a certain degree, persisted up to the present time. At the annual congress in Munich in the fall of 1903 the position of the movement with regard to religious organizations was defined as follows :

(1) The German Society for Ethical Culture as such takes a position of strictest neutrality upon all questions relating to the origin of the universe.

(2) Towards a stand on part of the churches denying the right of existence to a purely human and natural Ethics, the defence of our principles is, of course, our right and our duty.

(3) In addition, however, it is our duty, in the case of religious organizations, as everywhere, to proceed aggressively and polemically against ethically objectionable doctrines and institutions.

(4) The Society regards as one of its chief demands the secularization of the state and above all of the public schools.

(5) In the public schools it is the duty of the state to provide uniformly the most effective moral education and ethical instruction which is within reach, that is to say, one which takes a non-theological form.

(6) With regard to the interests of the family and of religious

denominations, the secular school should, in connection with moral instruction, observe strict neutrality. It must avoid offense against these interests, but it must not in any way advance them.

A neutrality expressed in such terms is certainly not conducive to the establishment of friendly relations. Nor is, on consideration, such a relationship, except in theory, at all conceivable. In view of the aims of the movement, on the one hand, and of the political and social conditions in Germany, on the other, practical success was impossible without a conflict with that organization which denied to the movement the right of existence. Antagonism on part of the church, however, means a great deal more in Germany than in England or in the United States. The constitution of the German empire, to be sure, beyond guaranteeing to all citizens freedom of conscience in religious belief, leaves the domain of religion severely alone and gives the various states freedom to manage their ecclesiastical concerns as they like. Nevertheless, this guarantee of religious liberty is only partially discharged. Each state having its own established church, the state takes religion under its wing to an extent which is difficult to credit. In Prussia, for instance, not only a considerable part of the emoluments of the clergy comes from the public treasury but so far is the state from adopting the theories of religious equality that, in some instances, within a relatively recent period, churches have been built out of municipal funds, and church rates are still being levied indiscriminately on entire communities for the maintenance of public worship. Moreover, it is in Germany a theory of the law that every Protestant is a member of the state church unless by legal proceeding he has formally seceded, and again, the law protects not only religion but also the church against any indignity in public speech or writing. These facts the church does not lose sight of and the ecclesiastical authorities are not only not slow in taking advantage of the privileges which they convey but, relying on the mutual dependence of church and state, they assume prerogatives which exceed their legal right. If it happens that men in public places are found associating themselves with schismatical or heterodox movements, they are warned by the heads of the church, and knowing her power, such warnings are generally heeded. Only a few years ago, seven teachers and professors at Dresden were obliged to withdraw from the Movement for Ethical Culture or run the risk of losing their positions.

But while the church, as indicated, is a powerful obstacle to the movement, the very factor which apparently gives her so much power involves, at the same time, an element of weakness which prevents her from attaining in the spiritual sphere a position proportionate to her opportunities and thereby creates conditions favorable to the development of a movement like the Ethical Movement. Regarding the educated classes, to be sure, this is of little consequence, for here religion, as a rule, is a matter more of the intellect than of the heart. Hence, among them, at all times, an abundance of highminded and even deeply religiously inclined people may be found, who are rarely seen inside of a church. In the past, the middle and working classes usually have been the main stay of the church. In the words of Les-sing "the best Christians have always been found among the people who knew least of theology." To-day, if one excepts the rural districts, the influence of the church among the working classes is on the decline. And the principal reason for it is their distrust, based on the probably well founded belief that she has allowed herself to become the handmaid of a political system which is strongly antagonistic to their personal interests. This loss of strength, moreover, became disastrous to her influence among the middle classes where, owing to her lack of expansiveness and her failure to respond to modern demands, many have lapsed into a spirit of indifferentism. Here then were conditions particularly propitious for the development of an Ethical Movement after the pattern of the movement in the United States, that is to say, along religious lines. If, notwithstanding, the movement developed in another direction and on the whole progressed rather slowly, that was due not so much to an opposing force from without but rather to the unfavorable general spirit and tendency of the times and to inner conditions which grew out thereof. The two propositions being thus closely connected we must consider them together.

Germany, undoubtedly with good right, has been called the land of idealism *par excellence*. German idealism was in its zenith after that great French warrior Napoleon the First had made a clean sweep of the political chessboard of Europe. With Prussia vanquished and humbled to the dust, the best qualities of the nation awoke, inciting a general striving after the ideally true and beautiful and inspiring the aspirations of genius to their loftiest flights. This was especially the

case in literature, in education and in philosophy, in which Germany, at that period, produced some of her most illustrious representatives. In politics, likewise, where the course of history so plainly showed the ruinous effects of despotism, Germany's philosophers of that period were the prophets of ideals which later helped to bind her scattered states into a powerful nation and which, in general, enriched the mind of mankind. Immediate attempts, however, to evolve a system that would aid the fatherland in its plight, had proved futile. In politics, German Idealism scored its saddest failures. Then came the era of William the First and Bismarck, in which a rare combination, the national tendency to idealize allied to the rugged common sense of action, for the first time fulfilled the national dream of unity. What idealism had vainly striven for was here realized with blood and iron, by brute force and unscrupulousness. And the splendor and apparent solidity of the edifice has dazzled contemporary society to such an extent that one is forced to ask, whether military and industrial success have changed the national bent. Since the establishment of the German empire, German "Kultur" has almost completely surrendered to the spirit of the so-called "Realpolitik", which holds captive not only the representatives of the ruling politics but all classes alike down to the working classes, the bearers of democracy. Poetry seems to have deserted her; her philosophy betrays the dominance of material interests; the attention of all is monopolized by material success and the struggle for it; idealism has given way to mercantile instincts, to the feverish haste to be rich and to enjoy.

The reason for this change is surely not difficult to fathom. It is the apparent impunity of the successful pursuance of a reckless policy of force associated with the relative impotence of the former idealistic efforts which has throttled the belief in the historical power of the ethical ideal. And it is the prevailing delusion that humanity progresses not by spontaneous growth of truth, of sympathy and of knowledge, but rather by what the French call the "grandes actions" which make the masses turn a deaf ear to the pleading of the Ethical Movement "that the fundamental creative forces of true social development can be called to life only in the depths of the individual soul." Nietzsche's demand for a revision of the whole Christian moral code and for a reversion of its most characteristic provisions was symptomatic of the egoistic tendencies of the age.

Rebellion against the existing order inevitably brings the recalcitrant party into closer touch with those who already are questioning the validity of some of the principles on which society rests. This is exactly what happened in the case of the Movement for Ethical Culture. With the working classes contaminated by the spirit of the Realpolitik and tending towards practical materialism, it was deemed to be the first duty of the movement to open the eyes of the Proletaire to larger views of his needs for a truly human existence. To do so, it was necessary to take a lively interest in the social, economic and political questions of the day and, by immediate intervention in the social conflict, the movement was forced at once into active participation in outside movements, which involved the taking of a definite stand on certain issues. Let us cast a glance at a statement of principles which was accepted by the movement at the annual congress in 1901. It reads as follows :

(1) The German Society for Ethical Culture strives for a state of human society in which ethical aspirations and ethical insight rule decisively and indisputably as guiding forces for individual action as well as for the total direction of social life. As, for the individual, morality is the indispensable condition of true welfare, so ethical culture is the most important element of every kind of culture, the graduator of its health and its vitality. True progress in general culture is impossible without progress in ethical culture.

(2) The present state of humanity, even of the most civilized peoples, if measured by this ideal, is deplorably imperfect.

(3) The foundation and most important factor of ethical culture is the moral state of the individual.

(4) Religious conceptions, being a personal matter of the individual and of a great variety of forms, are unfit for the foundation of all-embracing ethical fellowship. Moreover, having lost their influence with many minds in all classes, they are untrustworthy to be the sole stay of morality.

(5) Hence a universally effective and absolutely valid foundation of morality is needed, such a one, namely, which is taken from the uniform ground of human nature and from the conditions of social life and which, consequently, can be verified by reason and experience.

(6) A first condition in moral life is a certain refinement and ennoblement of human nature. To develop these among all classes by

the diffusion of culture of the heart and of mind must be the first step in the striving for ethical culture.

(7) The promotion of ethical culture necessarily includes the striving for a state of society in which the gifts of life are justly distributed and in which each of its members is assured of the necessities for human existence.

(8) As an indispensable foundation of moral development, a purposeful and, in its effects, lasting moral education of the young must be demanded. The first step in that direction is the introduction in the public schools of moral instruction on a non-theological basis.

With great decisiveness, however, even to-day, all private and public, national and international affairs must be held up to the measure of moral criticism and we must direct our efforts to the awakening in the widest circles of the moral sentiment and of moral judgment.

(9) As its next aim the Society pursues the representation, propagation and general maintenance of the above expressed convictions. It aims to offer to its adherents support and dependence, as well as to promote the cultivation of the inner life.

(10) The Ethical Movement, in view of the universal obligation of ethical norms, in principle, assumes an international character. To work successfully, however, in the special spheres of national culture, it is forced to attach itself to the national stamp of culture and to the particular forms of national and social life. In Germany, with strictest disavowal of national vanity, it knows itself in all its aims to be at one with the most noble traditions of German intellectual life.

The most striking and unique passage is undoubtedly the seventh paragraph which proclaims the principle that "the promotion of ethical culture necessarily includes the striving for a state of society in which the gifts of life are justly distributed, and in which each of its members is assured of the necessities for human existence."

The unfavorable material condition of the working classes in Germany is so notorious a fact as to preclude the necessity of elaborating on it here. The most prolific source of industrial discontent is the low rate of wages and incidently the long hours. Although wages have increased considerably during the last few decades, the very causes which have enabled the working man to secure better remuneration for his labor have largely tended to nullify the advantages so gained. The drastic system of Protection in force has raised the price of many

of the necessities and comforts of life to such a degree as to render it questionable whether the increase of wages has produced a corresponding material improvement in general.

Now the manner in which the German working-man is endeavoring to work out his salvation is not, as in England, for instance, by industrial organization and warfare, but he is lavishing his energies and his means chiefly upon political organizations, who manage to keep him in a state of discontent with his condition without showing him concretely how to improve it.

Modern Social Democracy is an organization in point. While the older school of Ferdinand Lasalle strove to combine practical measures for the economic advancement of the working classes with political agitation and ideals, the modern school, of which there are as many sects as of Christianity, has become almost entirely abstract. The material welfare of the working classes is, to be sure, still the ultimate aim. But instead of aiming at gradual progress, "Marxism," as it is called, or Humanism, as Marx preferred to call it, has elected neither to ask nor to accept anything short of ultimate aims and deals with abstract doctrine applicable to men and not to nations. In a word, if one disregards the so called Importunists who endeavor to direct the social axe merely at the most obvious and obtrusive evils, modern Socialism has given the working man nothing but an ideal. While in an intensely practical age, this is undoubtedly something worth having, the Socialistic ideal, unfortunately, seems to be based not so much on reason as on emotionalism, not on reflection but on desire. Emotion, of course, one may object, is the source of social power; but if unrestrained or undirected, it is dangerous. This evinces itself clearly among those who stand lowest in the cultural scale. Continuously there are flocking to the socialistic camp crowds of men, of little education, whose heads are filled with the most crude and confused notions, and who, blindly following the impulses of emotion, jump at conclusions, support them with what reason they can, but reach them in any event. These are the men who frequently aspire to petty leadership. To ready and credulous followers they become the voluble prophets of a Utopia which is to come without any special exertion on their part, the graphic designers of all kinds of chimerical ideals excepting the one which above all is needed, an ideal of practical life.

To the higher strata of Social Democracy, of course, no right-

minded man will forbear the tribute of acknowledging the good which Socialistic agitation has done. But even here emotionalism seems to be the keynote for action and, consequently, renders even men of keen intellect unsafe guides. Individual egoism is here supplanted by party egoism, and blindly fanatic devotion to what is only a part, is frequently misconstrued into unselfish service to the social whole.

The demand for a just distribution of the comforts of life is one of the well known axioms of the Socialistic programme, and verbally, and perhaps intrinsically, this demand coincides with that incorporated in the statement of principles of the German Society for Ethical Culture. In the conception of how this ideal is to be attained, however, there naturally exists a vast difference. According to Socialistic theory, it is to be reached by the elimination of all class and caste rule. As a matter of fact, however, the prevailing idea seems to be that of combatting only the ruling classes in order to take their place. "Nieder mit dem Bürgertum und Hoch das Proletariat!" is the motto written on their flag.

In view of her growing political power, to imbue Social Democracy with the spirit of ethical culture became an urgent need. Hence the movement attempted to establish closer relations between the two. A pamphlet was issued by the movement in the form of an appeal to the Socialists, from which I shall quote freely.

"The ethical man," one reads there, "lives with humanity as a whole and feels every wound inflicted to the spirit of its universality. No temporary success of violence or of want of principle dazzles him. Not by hate and harshness does he strive for harmony but only through the spirit of fellowship does he seek to enter the realm of peace. Where is this ethical man, you ask? He is nowhere. But all look for him. Once, many centuries ago he appeared in a high form of purity. He was nailed to the cross. Shall we wait until again a Saviour comes who departs with the words: 'Father forgive them for they do not know what they do?' No! We do not wish to wait. Our martyrs shall not have suffered in vain. In us all there remains a spark of this ethical spirit, rigid and cold, but still full of vitality. We will redeem ourselves! Economical improvements can contribute thereto, in fact in many circumstances of life they are the indispensable preliminary condition. Lasting improvements, however, cannot be brought about without aiming at a higher general ethical standard;

not by deriding and imbittering individuals; not by resolutions of parliament; not by political innovations. Without a predominance of the ethical man, the best institutions will again degenerate and decay. Hunger is not stilled by Ethics, the Socialists exclaim! They err! Ethical culture will surely still it, for only by its help will end the present war of the classes. Ethical culture will accomplish it because it creates that new spirit which enables men to work and to manage affairs by joining hands instead of threatening with clenched fists."

In brief, it was argued that, while material elevation of the people, by involving the establishment of greater justice and equality, to a certain extent, already implies moral elevation, to fulfill the ideal of man means not individual satisfaction, but rather the realization of the universally human by means of general moral culture.

On the part of Social Democracy, all attempts of the Ethical Movement, "of the last cry of anguish of civil society," (*das letzte Angstprodukt der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft*) as it was called, to convert them to the higher ideal, has so far met with a rather cold reception.

Still, here was the movement conferring with a political party, even a remote connection with which sufficed to court the displeasure of the authorities. As a consequence, the so called "stillborn child" which usually was passed by with a sneer, began to be looked upon with suspicion. Its organ "Ethische Kultur" was regarded a publication which needed supervision. And thus, in addition to opposition from the church, hostility of the government and local oppression became powerful obstacles to progress. A glance at the cities where the divisions of the movement are located serves to confirm these facts. Nearly all are situated in the west and south of Germany, in parts which have felt the waves of the French revolution, and where government is more liberal.

Nevertheless, although circumstances as those mentioned above prevent the movement from making the most of its opportunities, there arises, on the other hand, the question whether, even under most favorable conditions, a movement of this kind would develop freely in Germany, since some of its characteristics are so distinctly negative.

It has been rightly pointed out (6) that much of the Rationalism which is met with in Germany in different degrees and forms and as a

characteristic common to all classes, is far from being identical with rank unbelief and that, to confuse the two things, as is often done, is both misleading and unjust. Probably the strongest predisposing cause of the sceptical tendency of the German mind is the great and almost exaggerated love of speculation and criticism, its eagerness of inquiry, its passion for interrogation. This truly Hellenic fondness for criticism and analysis operates in every direction of thought; and if religion seems to have been specially chosen to bear the dry light of reason, the explanation is simply that it offers infinitely more scope for criticism and speculation than any other subject of human investigation. As a proof for this hypercritical attitude towards religion, one may refer to the labels that German rationalists attach to themselves in the census returns, which require specific information as to a man's beliefs or disbeliefs. There one finds mention of "Rationalists, Materialists, Naturalists, Humanists, Atheists, Deists, Free Thinkers, Monotheists, Pure Reasoners, Pantheists, Secularists, Theosophists, Mystics, and Cogitants, not to speak of people who claim to have their own religion."

Numerous examples can be cited which show that, in spite of all possible scepticism, if one but look below the surface of things, the German people are at heart, a religious people and that many who profess to be free from ecclesiastical associations unconsciously pay homage to the religion they disdain. This is the case even amongst the working classes, where, owing probably to the unsympathetic attitude of the church and of the cultured classes toward labor, Rationalism is found in its crassest forms. While to the average German workingman his Socialism may be his true religion and while his theology, in so far as it is regarded at all, may be constructed from the teachings of a Strauss, Baur, Bruno or Renan, it would, nevertheless, be rash to conclude that, with the loss of regard for perhaps imperfect external forms of religion, the religious sentiment has become extinct. To sustain this point of view in connection with the present topic, it will suffice to point to the attitude of Social Democracy towards the famous neo-Christian Movement of von Egidy, who, although contending that Christianity is to be taken allegorically, yet insisted that it is a sacred myth, a vehicle by which truths may be brought home which would otherwise be unattainable. He recognized clearly and dared to give voice to his conviction, that what is commonly called by the com-

prehensive title of religious belief is only a part, and perhaps not the most central part, of the existing religious spirit and that, what has fallen, or rather what has become uncertain, are the historical and metaphysical dogmas which have been knit up with Christianity and not its central spirit, which may be described as love, devotion, reverence, conscientiousness. That his words roused an echo in the hearts of the German working men may be inferred from the fact that at his death the "Socialist," an organ of the German anarchists, dedicated to his memory an entire edition, in which various representatives of the anarchistic movement expressed their sorrow and their thanks. The editorial thus apostrophizes the deceased :

"Du lichter Schatten habe Dank,
Gut sprach dein kühner Mund,
Und wem der Sinn von Zweifel krank,
Der ward an dir gesund!"
Other passages read as follows :

"Egidy's personality can in a sense be regarded as the ethical Centrum in the public life of the last few years. In his presence, the odious word was bound to remain unspoken, the offensive gesture was repressed and the ill-willed, by a mixture of nobility and amiability, for the time being, were disarmed. And herein rests the import of his work. In these troublesome times, where neighbor no longer trusts neighbor, he stepped amongst the people and with his pure hands again lifted up the most holy which in the struggle for trifles had ceased to shine forth. There glowed again with objective life what seemed to be dead letter: "The sacred law of evolution,"—"consciousness of personality,"—"consciousness of universal fellowship,"—"love is power,"—"learn to think with your heart,"—"we want to love not only this one and that one, we want to love universally" (überhaupt). . . He was one of the men, disseminating happiness, who can be praised but inadequately; for there is a way to please and to bestow, to smile and to inspire, to generate love and energy, which appears to be brightened by the light of a purer world, and inspires us to emulate such goodness.—And humanity moves on in ignorance of what it lost." (Quoted in (10) No. 5). Such words from such a source recall to mind Bacon's well known maxim that "a little philosophy inclineth man's mind to atheism, but depth in philosophy bringeth men's minds about to religion!" If nothing more,

they bear testimony to the presence in religion of elements which even freethinkers can accept and which, in fact, seem desirable. In view of the failure of the Ethical Movement to reach the masses, does not the high regard of Social Democracy for the Egidy movement point to the need of greater tolerance in the active and not merely passive sense? This need the Ethical Movement is slow to realize, although individual members appreciate it. Dr. Fr. W. Förster, for instance, writes as follows: "We cannot and do not wish to work to the end that communities for the satisfaction of religious needs change into societies for the satisfaction of ethical demands. For there are spheres in human nature which are not reached by ethics and science because they begin where ethics and science leave off, and which in many people emerge in the degree in which, by surrender and ethical emancipation, they have grown above themselves. Transitoriness and destiny, eternity and infinity glare upon us and cause to rise, out of the thrills of the soul, out of the depth of its love, its pain and its resignation, an ideal world of musing presentiment and pious trust,—analogies of the incomprehensible, hopes, joyful of their realization from the very ardor of their longing,—a realm of transfiguration in which there is an answer to the thousand questions in regard to the relation of nature to human existence. And there will always be people who will congregate in this sphere of kindred emotions and try to give expression to their devotion in the consecration of community, yes also such who, at important epochs of their life, demand to hear, side by side with the voice of earnest humanity, that sacred music which rings around the eternal secrets of existence. We have here nothing else to do than to hold the church to its most proper and purest mission" (10, No. 2).

France.

The French Movement for Ethical Culture was inaugurated by Paul Desjardins, Professor of Rhetoric at Paris, and well known as critic and moralist. He first attracted attention through a series of essays, later published in book form under the title "*Le Devoir Présent*," in which he appealed to congenial minds to join him in practical work. Like Adler, he looked for social regeneration through moral action pure and simple, by the individual leading of a better

life. "There are some of us" he writes (8), "who have sometimes forgotten their personal afflictions, however great they may have been, when reflecting on the moral distress all around us, and when searching for a possible way of remedying the universal misery. Some remain calm before the spectacle, they become reconciled, and learn to regard with sang-froid that which is. Others, among them the writer, are more affirmative, because they are more passionate, more easily offended, and because they can neither forget nor forbear nor give up peaceably to despair. They trouble themselves less with what is than with what should be. Are justice and love a blessing, trustworthy laws and a safe port, or are they phantasms and illusions? Have we a destiny, an ideal, a duty, or do we move about without cause and without aim, mere playthings of some malicious demiurge, or perhaps at the absurd caprice of the great Pan? These are the questions which divide conscience." Reflection as well as experience make it certain that humanity has a destiny and that we live for something. "I look," he continues, "wandering in a dark forest, towards the point where I fancy a light which cannot deceive me, but which is hidden behind importunate branches of the complexity of life. What brings me nearer to it is not speculating on the probable nature of the light, but marching towards it; that is to say, fortifying in all and in myself the will to the good." What he had in mind was a movement of individual and social emancipation, given birth to by a universal desire for a better state of society. To form a nucleus for this future society, "to be the fair beginning of a time," that was the avowed and rather huge ambition which led to the establishment of "l'Union pour l'Action morale."

On January 11th, 1892, he arranged for a meeting, where a number of like-minded men of all classes, including the clergy, discussed at length the popular questions of the day. As the circle grew larger, a Bulletin was printed in which the newly suggested ideas were given expression. In the following year the Bulletin was published as a periodical and its writers and subscribers constituted l'Union pour l'Action morale, which was not a society in the strict sense of the word. In its aim it did not differ from the general movement. Everybody, no matter what his religion or philosophy of life, was welcome to membership if willing to subordinate his personal interests to the common cause. "Let us co-operate," reads an appeal pub-

lished November, 1895, "to realize in some measure the good which we have recognized. Let us work among our neighbors, for we deem ourselves no better than those whose mistakes offend us. We are merely more conscious of the evil and more courageous to combat it. We have come to the conclusion that our first and most practical work must be that of moulding man." This can be accomplished best by an education which does justice to all classes. "Through it we work for social peace. For by making ourselves truer men, we render ourselves at the same time more susceptible to everything human,—we are enabled to comprehend more easily the sufferings of others. As opposed to the egoistic and individualistic interests of society, we wish to maintain that only such actions are of value as correspond to the demands of true justice. Only in this sense shall a public spirit be generated."

Although in naming the Union the words "action morale" had been substituted for "ethical culture," Desjardins thought it of advantage to confine the movement, at least for a certain time, to one of moral pressure (*un mouvement d'opinion*), in order to sound public sentiment and to determine the state of mental preparation for the successful launching of a movement of this kind. Hence, to begin with, its activities were limited to the discussion in the Bulletin of questions of public interest.

Like all true ethical reformers he conceived of the movement from an ideal point of view. Modern materialistic tendencies constituted to him a potential danger to all attempts at social regeneration. Emulating the ancient master who bids men to philosophize with their whole soul and not merely, by an artificial abstraction from other faculties, with their eyes and ears, he pointed out as a first duty the need of undoing in part the harm done by literature during the last century, the necessity of teaching that pure phenomenism invariably leads to faltering and to tautology, and on the other hand, that scepticism is nothing but the result of non-receptibility and a declaration of incompetence before life.

Although an anti-clerical, he seems to be inspired by an intensity of religious faith, which, to be sure, is not to be understood in the sense of dogmatic orthodoxy. To him moral ideas constitute the organic force of the soul. Maintaining with Pascal that "volition is one of the chief agencies of belief" he claims that only moral action is capable

of clearing up intellectual doubts, that faith is simply our consciousness of moral progress within, gradual like it, and its only reward. The fact that we are unable exactly to define this faith, far from dejecting us, on the contrary should be considered an element of strength, for "it would be immoral if faith could be formulated in so many words, in such a manner that knowing how to read would suffice for attaining it, and that through inability to read one would be deprived of it. Faith is incommunicable, and must be so, like moral worth from which it emanates."

Starting from these premises, his views regarding Christianity may be easily surmised. Religion, grasped in its true inwardness, being nothing but an attitude of mind projected into action, he counsels what he calls "the elaboration of an inner Christianity." By it he means an attitude of mind which would generate in the facts of inner experience the same spiritual phenomena which Christianity of old has recognized under the name of original sin, redemption, grace, the effects of prayer and of ascetism, etc., in brief, the restoration of a kind of interior Christ which any soul, if but possessed of a spark of nobility, would recognize as its own. The happy results to be expected from such a tendency, in his opinion, were to be twofold. In the case of Christians, it would lead to a rejuvenescence and a revival of their faith by letting them rediscover it under the brushwood of the dead letter, and thus render it more real. To non-believers, it would be, on the one hand, a great help in creating an inner understanding of their Christian brethren, and on the other, it would allow them to participate in the benefits which are to be derived from an admirable moral experience of more than 18 centuries' growth. At any rate, he hoped that the first step towards a fulfillment of his fondest dream, unanimity between these two factions, might thus be made. While the movement was to put the chief stress on the need of a new ideal of holy living taking root among the masses, Desjardins did not lose sight of the fact that to attain its aim, a purer, juster and happier humanity, it was also necessary to take an interest in practical measures of reform. To this end he advocated working in the spirit of liberal Democracy somewhat in the Aristotelian sense of the word, a Democracy in which fraternity does not necessarily imply equality, unless it be that of common duty of service, and in which the highest criterion

of liberty is the right and the duty of the individual to be at once law-giver and law-bound.

The one thing above all which he emphasized was the development of individual initiative as opposed to the prevailing tendency to automatize. Thus, the fact of absolute control of education by the State displeased him, although, of course, the newly instituted pedagogy met with his approval. Protectionism and Socialism in its various forms were distasteful to him. "Un seul vouloir partout" should be the aim, but not extinction of all initiative, that evil from which civil society suffers to the extent in which the liberated masses are thrown back into their former state of mental servitude. The intellectual tyranny of Paris was to be shaken off by the establishment of great university centres in the provinces, so that more men, having become their own masters, could venture upon the more dangerous but also more luminous heights of a free and complete life. Last, but not least, demands for greater freedom for societies which do not oppose the State, and new methods of bettering the conditions of the working classes by guarding against the fatal effects of the principle of charity, were to be included in the programme.

Such was the general tenor of the aims of the French movement at its birth.

Let us here pause to cast a glance upon the environment in which this movement was to develop.

France, unlike other countries which we have reviewed, is predominantly catholic, and it is not difficult to recognize that many of the characteristics and traits of its people are traceable to the influence which the catholic church has contributed to the moulding of modern France. If there is one thing more than another which marks the path of catholicism in history, it is its endeavor to destroy individualism by organization and systematization, and to enforce the sense of social interdependence among men. The principal means for attaining this was to assume absolute control of the domain of conscience. Conscience being the most important spring of human action, individuality is intensified in proportion as the individual takes charge of it, while individuality becomes less marked and his relations to others become more sensible in the degree in which he places the centre of his moral nature outside himself by resigning this charge into other hands. With the catholic church for centuries bearing sway in France,

one may, therefore, expect to find here the social instinct extraordinarily developed and, in consequence, the theory of the solidarity of mankind, the doctrine that there is between each individual and all the others a necessary tie of solidarity, to be in high favor. Obviously, then, a movement striving for a renewed society whose basis was to be "the spirit of sacrifice, the immolation of self and of one's passions and will, and the love of one's neighbor," ought to have found here a rich soil to cultivate.

As in other countries, however, so in France, other factors entered to counterbalance favorable conditions.

First in this connection is to be mentioned the fact that, with the possible exception of Germany, France is the land of scepticism par excellence. Not that the French as a nation could be called an irreligious people. Sweeping generalizations of this kind are out of place. But if it be true that the literary men of the times reflect the spirit and tone of thought of the upper and educated classes of a people, the literary history of France amply illustrates the fact. It is impossible to read French books, to study French history, without perceiving that in construction as in criticism, in science and art as in philosophy, the shining disk at which the Frenchman invariably aims is the fact, the reality, the truth.

Throughout the last few centuries one of the characteristics, one may say without fear of contradiction, the most obvious characteristic of French literature was its anti-Christian attitude. When D'Alembert, on his election to the French Academy, speaking on religion and philosophy, asserted that the birth of the Christian religion is the epoch of decadence of healthy philosophy, and that the annihilation of philosophy and the progress of religion have always gone together, he but voiced sentiments which met with applause and approval. Religion, according to his views, may serve to advance our happiness in the next world but not in this one.

The so called "System of Nature," influenced by the sensationalistic philosophy of the times, as is well known, went to even greater extremes.

The Encyclopædists treated religion from a purely rationalistic standpoint.

The annihilation of all religion during the period of the French revolution was but the logical consequence of the hostility to Christianity

in literature and its counterpart, the spirit of irreligion, which was prominent amongst the upper classes of French society.

Beginning as far back as the provisional scepticism of Decartes and the sceptical satire of Montaign, proceeding to the natural scepticism of Voltaire, the sceptical naturalism of Rousseau and the positivism of Comte, one can trace the same tendencies of thought down to the lesser lights of the present age.

True enough, it may be objected that a certain amount of scepticism seems to be a necessary requirement for the life of the Movement for Ethical Culture as it has taken shape. But how such a tendency can cause a perversion of the true ideals of the movement may be seen in a remarkable statement of the meaning of the Ethical Movement as understood by the "Union de Paris," which reads as follows: "We are bound together by a common principle: to establish a discipline of life in conformity to reason and outside of all theology; to illuminate that discipline by free and open discussion; to animate it with love; to render it effective and progressive by mutual support; to teach it methodically; and to realize it in customs and in laws and even, if justice require it, *by a revolution*" (2).

Another obstacle is to be found in the peculiar ethical standards of the French which are fundamentally opposed to the idealistic ethical conceptions of the movement.

The key to their nature is to be looked for in the substitution of honor for duty as the criterion of morality. They are, on the one hand, the result of the sceptical attitude, and, on the other, a direct derivative of the highly developed social instinct. The religious man, exalting the functions of conscience, is ever ready to obey its behests unconcerned whether or not the oracle, by counselling contradictorily on various occasions, stultifies itself as a guide. He tactitly admits its fallability, acts according to the best light that is in him and trusts to a vague feeling that the rest will take care of itself. The sceptical Frenchman, with his passion for pure reason, scorns the pragmatic attitude. The one thing of consequence to him is to be counselled aright. Rejecting conscience as untrustworthy, he is led by his social instinct to place the more value upon an outward monitor. Morality becomes with him a social rather than an individual matter. The influence of his environment, public opinion in general, the νόμος, the custom which has the force of law, act as his moral constraints. Why

ponder over the obscure dictates of conscience when those of honor are so plain?

As a result of this extrinsic criterion the Frenchman is usually less successful in morality than elsewhere, his norms are apt to be more superficial, indeed, his whole discipline of character suffers from a certain streak of levity and his supreme wisdom is that of avoiding as much as possible the difficulties of life.

How this inadequacy of the social ground affects the success of the movement is well told by a French author who describes the following incident: "M. Desjardins and myself," he writes, "met in Edinburgh, where we both lectured—he on the moral action, I on social science. He then confided to me how struck he was with the extraordinary facilities he found in Great Britain for the furtherance of his ideas: "What excellent ground!" he once exclaimed. Indeed, he had met with an attentive, serious, earnest public; he had found among them that state of mind which is most favorable to receive and further moral action.

He was struck by the difference between this state of mind and that which he mostly meets in France. Even among his own followers, many merely yield to a sort of fashion, of vogue, of infatuation, which is just now felt among the French for moral action. It is select, well-worn, it is the last cry of fashion,—in short, it is an affectation. But let the wind of fashion change, and the people will turn to something else, as easily as a woman will change a tight-fitting skirt for a crinoline. As for the great mass of the public, they treat the whole movement as a huge joke—as indeed we do with everything in France."

"The seed cannot bear fruit in such shallow ground, where there is no deepness of earth" (7).

Although this picture possibly is somewhat overdrawn, the apparent indifference with which the Ethical Movement met in France seems to speak for its general accuracy.

However, there is still another reason for this apathy which the author, above quoted, has overlooked. While it is true that in France morality, like religion, yes even like science and art, is frequently not so much concerned with the satisfaction of deep human needs as with considerations of propriety and suitableness, it is even more governed by considerations of utility. In France, more than in other countries, the rights of man have been so loudly and so frequently

asserted that the duties of man are sometimes quite forgotten. Hence, as long as things go well, the French find it convenient to enjoy present advantages without troubling themselves about responsibilities. To move them there must arise conditions which affect particular interests rather than general ideals. Then, there is apt to occur one of those outbursts of passion in which this people periodically indulges.

Thus, it took such a stirring event as the notorious Dreyfus case to create heightened interest in the aims of the "Union pour l'action morale." The great crisis brought about by the revelations in connection with the trials of this victim of intrigue and persecution aroused French dreamers from their *dolce farniente* and not only set them to thinking, but prepared them for action. Its effects are most interestingly sketched by a friend of the Union as follows:

"We now see the state of our society: A cowardly public opinion, incapable of rising against the press which it reads; cowardly newspapers, constantly in fear of public opinion which they follow; a parliament which stands cowardly before these two cowards, public powers who stand cowardly before these three cowards,—and above the whole a soldiery which tries to erect its brutal power upon the ruins of all moral forces. . . . All this we now see and know, all stirs to action, to reform—but how and where is one to begin? University men and artists fume at public meetings, resolve the repeal of wicked laws, all raise their hands in favor of the resolution,—so do I, through sympathy and imitation,—and yet do not really know which wicked laws are in question. There we are again in that state of precipitation so characteristic of our national temperament; we swear by schematic theories of force. . . . Here presents itself an opportunity. . . . for the Union to become a power in the public life of France. . . . Do not be afraid to become political. We are aware how deeply politics is interwoven with the questions of justice. Yes, indeed, it is necessary to purify the motives of political work and to elevate its points of view. You are about, as you say, 'to establish a secular order who battles for individual and social duty, a nucleus of society of the future'; is this order to be merely contemplative? Why then do you invite people into a union pour *l'action morale*? If you care to act, my friends, advise us, organize us, lead us into action!" (10, No. 5.)

It is, of course, impossible to say how much the influence of the Union contributed to the apparently just settlement of this celebrated case which now has passed into history. Certain, however, it is that, notwithstanding the avowed neutral attitude of the Union, this affair, which divided all France into two factions, was the object of the most vigorous efforts on the part of the Union and consequently the cause of a wider propagation of its aims. Its membership increased more rapidly and particular efforts were made to reach the working classes.

Most noteworthy among these is an attempt in 1898 by M. Deherme, secretary of the Union, to bring the working classes into closer contact with the learned in order to secure a better understanding between them. For this purpose he published a monthly periodical "*La Coopération des Idées*," and places were established where the workingman met men of science and literature to listen to discourses, to review social and ethical literature and to interchange opinions on questions of immediate interest. The work resembled that of the University extensions in other countries but, instead of being confined to mere intellectual instruction, often went further by entering boldly into the midst of actual problems. The following partial list is typical of the themes on the programme ;

"The history of the family." "The theory of free love." "The right of the child to monogamy." "Divorce." "Alcoholism and insanity." "Patriotism and internationalism." "Colonial politics." "The great strikes in England." "The history of the great French social philosophers and social movements," etc.

The undertaking met with such gratifying success that it gave rise to the wish for permanent institutions of this kind. This demand was realized by the establishment of so-called "people's universities," at first in Paris and later in the provinces, where, as an addition, after the fashion of the English settlements, facilities were provided for social entertainments.

For the rest, the practical work of the movement so closely resembles that in other countries that it would be tedious to again enumerate details. Nor would it be anything but repetition to again relate the apparently neutral attitude of the movement towards religion, the actual intolerance by a part of its members, and the vehement opposition to the movement by the church. The position of the movement towards Socialism likewise does not vary essentially from that described

in the chapter on Germany, although in the labor movement, here more than in Germany, where persecution from above opposes such a tendency, the one-sided economical conception of the social problem gradually seems to give way to a deeper appreciation of the rôle which the ethical ideal plays in historical development.

One topic, however, deserves some special attention, not only because of its intimate connection with the Movement for Ethical Culture, but because it treats of a problem in the solution of which France has been more eminently successful than other countries. I refer to the problem of "moral instruction in the public schools," that battle cry of the Ethical Movement which constitutes a *casus belli* wherever it is raised.

France is the classical land of the new pedagogy of morality. As early as 1866 there was founded the "Ligue Française de l'Enseignement laïque," whose aim was the development of secular instruction and education by means of the diffusion of enthusiasm for a natural and human ethics, the principles of solidarity and the consciousness of social duties.

In May, 1904, this league included no less than 3,305 subordinate societies and in addition 6,535 individual members. In 1881, under the direction of Ferdinand Bouisson, by an avalanche of petitions which contained more than a million signatures, the league prepared for the secular school, and since 1882 moral instruction is a part of the curriculum of the public schools. Over 200 text-books have made their appearance, some of which have reached 60 editions or more. Part of this literature, the work of psychologists and pedagogues of high standing, has unquestionably furnished many valuable contributions to the advancement of moral education of the young. Unfortunately, however, as Dr. W. Förster points out, just in France the whole pedagogical and culture value of the undertaking is greatly curtailed by its political and psychological origin. "The introduction of this moral instruction," he writes, "was not merely a pedagogical matter for the advancement of which the most divergent forces in the nation joined hands irrespectively of their political and denominational premises; on the contrary, it was a weapon of the newly founded republic which had its footing upon the rationalistic traditions of the French revolution, a weapon against that part of old-fashioned French society which still maintained its buoyancy within the circles of the

church and in the royalistic parties, and organized attacks against the new order of things. 'Moral—and civil instruction' was the real crowning of the non-denominational school, which was destined to train the republican citizen and to moor the new order of things in the conscience of the coming generation. This origination from impassioned and one-sided political tendencies the new French moral pedagogy has been unable to overcome; it lacks the breadth and depth of the fundamentals which, in this particular sphere, are quite indispensable—moreover, it is highly regrettable that such an important matter as the concrete form of a moral pedagogy was compromised from the beginning by being set up, in consequence of the above mentioned historical conditions, as an issue of the radicals against religious and church traditions, whereby for decades it was removed from the supplementary co-operation of the pedagogues of the church. It is likewise this development which has caused the new pedagogy to be built essentially upon the rationalism of the intellectualists and to lose thereby from the beginning, in its ethical foundations also, the co-operation of many deeper and richer minds."

From numerous and reliable personal communications, he continues, he is convinced that, to no little extent, the attachment of so many parents to the private schools of the church emanates from that too sterile and too one-sidedly intellectual foundation of the culture of the inner man which is in vogue in the school system of the State. "When one recollects that in these text-books the French revolution with its sanguifluous blessings occupies a nearly equivalent sacred position to that of the history of the Passion of Jesus Christ in Christian ethics, and when one further considers the naïve Chauvinism which, even to-day, is interwoven in a majority of these moral catechisms of the State, one must confess, with all respect for the honest and exalted intentions of the respective authors and pedagogues, that their conception of the matter is after all somewhat too simple. That must be told candidly—for the opponents of the new moral pedagogy, as it happens, are fond of referring to the palpable deficiencies of these French methods in order to prove the whole undertaking non-viable and unnecessary" (11).

While such criticism undoubtedly is just, according to other authoritative sources, ethical instruction in France, notwithstanding the hostility and malice of unscrupulous adversaries, and in spite of its

questionable parentage, has proved enough of a success to show the vitality of the principle. That in the relatively brief time during which it has been on trial it has not fulfilled all that which over-enthusiastic and optimistic partisans prophesied, was only to be expected. More perfect methods of instruction and more reliable text-books, which can only emanate from the combined efforts of psychological research and of practical pedagogy, are likely to remedy present defects. On the other hand, the argument advanced by opponents, who point to the increase of crime in France and assert that this is the result of the substitution of moral for religious instruction, will hardly stand the test. Its decrepitude is indicated by the fact that the same phenomenon obtains in other countries. Statistics, for instance, show that in Germany, where religious instruction is still included in the curriculum of the public schools, juvenile crime is on the increase to an alarming extent.

The end of the year 1905 saw an important change in the affairs of the movement in France. Up to that time, as one might expect, the policy of the movement was largely determined by the editors of the Bulletin, and as long as the effects produced by the novelty of the undertaking were in force, and during the eventful period of the so-called "grande affaire" the Union enjoyed a comparatively healthy state of prosperity. As time wore on, however, the group reacted less and less strongly, and finally was contented to simply accept what the editors of the Bulletin were able or pleased to offer. In other words, the Union was making rapid strides towards that much dreaded fate which is apt to overtake attempts of this kind, of shrivelling,—to make use of examples cited in the Bulletin,—into "*une société pour la conservation de la pudeur, soladitas pudicitiae servandæ*," or perhaps into a "*Société pour la réforme des mœurs*," like the one which flourished in the Anglican church during the greater part of the 18th century. Then the leaders came to the conclusion that, in order to cut short the growing torpor, it was necessary to destroy the structure which they had helped to build. They came to see that the prevailing state of indifference was but the logical consequence of an arrangement by which one part of the members was exclusively the giver and the other the receiver, and which afforded opportunities neither for personal contact among the members nor for reaching the public at large. Again, they felt the title of the Union, which some,

from the very first, had hesitated to accept, to be a misnomer. "For a long time," so they argued, "the unique, common, and profound religion of the French people, or at least of that part of the French people for whom religion is possible, has been the search of truth and the desire to serve it." With Guyau, "who only interpreted what had been proclaimed 200 years before him by Malebranche, and 300 years earlier by Montaigne," they held, that "only that is religious in the philosophical meaning of the word, which seeks out, which ponders upon, which loves the truth." "Truth," speaking with Pascal, is then "the first rule and the final end of things." "Moreover," according to Baillet, the famous biographer of the life of Des-Cartes, "truth is indissolubly linked with justice; it would be impossible for justice to abandon truth without destroying itself" (3).

All these considerations led to the question, whether, after all, such a name as "Union pour la vérité" would not be more appropriate, indeed, whether the choice of this title would not be a peculiarly happy one, since it includes "justice" which, as accusers claimed, had been omitted. Accordingly, it was decided to abandon the publication of the Bulletin, and the Union was transformed into an organization which henceforth is to be called "Union pour la vérité." Other publications, among them "Petit Bulletin pour nos enfants" and "Libres Entretiens" are to be continued as heretofore.

The new Union, in its prospectus, calls itself "a society for mutual philosophical and civic education" and defines its object as follows:

"(a) To maintain among its members, by means of training judgment and character, that plasticity of mind which the search for truth and the struggle for justice demand."

"(b) To encourage openly, by personal example and propaganda, the active love of truth and right, and to help to introduce the critical method into everyday life."

Hereto was later added:

"To add nothing. Possibly, to explain something." "We establish this Union not for the purpose of searching for truth,—for one inquires into it by one's self,—but in order to serve it. We hope thereby to render ourselves capable of always willing the truth; for truth is not "a thing" which one can possess, but "a state" the attainment of which requires will power and ceaseless application. Herein a friendship such as ours aids us; a friendship between per-

sonalities distinctly different, but all resolved to place nothing higher than the truth."

The "Comité D'Administration" contains many names well known in science, in literature, and in the arts. The "Directeur" for 1906 is M. Paul Desjardins.

The latest discussions of the Union centre around the problem of Internationalism, in the elucidation of which many of the ablest French scholars are taking part.

The Movement in other Countries.

While the United States, England, Germany and France proved the most favorable territory, the influence of the Ethical Movement, possibly with the exception of Russia and Spain, has made itself felt in nearly every civilized country of the globe.

In *Italy*, Venice was the first city to establish a "Society for Ethical and Social Culture." (Circolo per la Cultura Etico-sociale.) Its immediate aim was "to unite all those who believed that the prevailing industrial system was capable of modification in the direction of more perfect harmony between the social classes." Discussion and public meetings were the instrumentalities for bringing about this result.

Although on the ground of classical culture, the movement, as recent events show, met here with almost insurmountable difficulties. On the one hand, the socialistic labor movement, under the long influence of brutal oppression, was far from ripe for a deeper conception of the social problem and, on the other, the clergy proved a most powerful obstacle, not only by its objection to a morality without religion, but by its successful opposition to all enlightenment of the people. Hence, genuine popular education, one which does not stand in the service of particular class interests, politics, or religious associations, became one of the chief objects of attention of the movement.

The Venetian Society was no sooner organized than it addressed itself to the task of philanthropy by proposing a scheme for the foundation of an asylum or shelter, a place for amusement and instruction of the children of working people during the hours when their parents are away in the workshops and factories. This attempt, however, was vehemently denounced by the clergy of Venice.

The Society then determined to address itself to the adult working people. A school for the social and ethical culture of working people was established, the members of the Ethical Society of Venice being the teachers. This attempt met with astonishing success. Opening with 7 adult pupils, after two weeks 200 were enrolled, and at the end of the month further admittance had to be refused owing to lack of accommodation. During the first year the number of regular students was 384, while with occasional visitors the total attendance was 4,180. A majority of these were workers in metals. The classes were continued from December to May, and in the summer, excursions were arranged for the purpose of studying the art and historic monuments in which Venice is so rich, and also economic conditions and public institutions, especially the public charitable institutions.

Within the course of a few years this people's school developed into a regular workingmen's college where courses of lectures in the various branches of science are delivered: Physiology, Physics, Hygiene, National Economy, History, etc. For literary propaganda the Society published a monthly journal "*Cronache del Rinascimento Etico-Sociale*," pamphlets, and leaflets.

Rome was the second city to organize an Ethical Society. In addition there existed in Turin, Milan, Bologna, Padua and Verona Peace Societies, Women's Clubs and Self-Culture Clubs which were akin to the Ethical Movement, for their constitutions prohibited any association with political or religious organizations.

The movement reached its most flourishing condition in 1899. In that year the Venice Society took the initiative in organizing a Society which was to include all the principal cities in Italy. The result of its efforts was the so-called "*Unione Morale; Associazione Italiana per la Cultura Etico-Sociale*." The first new division was one at Padua, where a Count Francesco Papafava became an enthusiastic worker and, by means of a publication, "*Cos'è l'Unione Morale*", won many followers for the cause. Turin also established a division.

More recently, mainly lack of financial support has prevented the movement from working as intensively as it would like, in consequence of which it has shrunk to a considerable extent. The chief interest, at present, centres in the Popular University of Venice, at the head of which stands Professor Levi-Morenos. According to reports in 1905, attempts were being made to reorganize the Union. Later reports,

however, fail to state that reorganization has been successfully effected.

In *Austria*, it was Professor Jodl who, through two essays, published in August, 1893, in the "Neue Freie Presse," directed attention to the Ethical Movement. On December 10th, 1904, having obtained a permit from the authorities who "were unable to find cause for objection," the Ethical Society at Vienna was established. Dr. Aristides Brezina, director of the court-museum, was elected first "Obman." The history of this Society is a checkered one. Quite successful shortly after its organization, it later suspended operation for a time, was reorganized in 1897, attained at one time a membership of over 600, lost the greater part of these, and numbers at present something like 220 members. The Society first gained considerable recognition through an investigation, conducted in the city of Vienna, into conditions of female labor. The work was undertaken by the so-called "Social Group" which, employing nearly 400 experts, inquired into the condition of female workers in the various manufacturing establishments and into their manner of life. The results of this investigation were reported in the presence of a delegation from the public bureau of labor and later published in book form under the title "Die Arbeits—und Lebensverhältnisse der Wiener Lohnarbeit-erinnen." (Ignac Brand, Wien, 1897, 686 p.) They found their way into the newspapers and, to quote from "the first report on the Ethical Movement," "stirred the social conscience and aroused the interest of wide circles of society." Encouraged by the success of this undertaking, and in the hope that a more thorough insight into the condition of the laboring classes might eventually lead to more favorable labor legislation, a similar investigation was made of the condition of apprentices in the various trades, with particular reference to industrial education, treatment, pay and mode of life. The working out of the rich material obtained was undertaken in his Seminary by Professor Dr. Eugen v. Philippovich.

In March, 1895, a so-called Literary Group came into existence, which for a time confined its activities to the study of the philanthropic institutions in Vienna. Later, after sending a committee to Berlin for the purpose of investigating the methods of the German Society, a "Bureau of Charities" was established after the model of the Berlin institution. The organ of the Society "Mitteilungen der Ethischen Gesellschaft in Wien" was also taken charge of by this group. A

third group, the so-called Pedagogical Group, arranged courses of pedagogical lectures for mothers and young women. Their object was thus indicated on the programme: "These lectures are intended to introduce the hearers into a deeper understanding of the child's soul as well as to increase their ability to carry on the education of the child on a sound ethical and psychological basis. A mother's love, to be sure, is the natural foundation of education, but experience teaches us that, in many cases, even the most devoted affection cannot accomplish what it aims to do because it is not supported by a clear insight into child nature and by a systematic application of the methods of educational science."

The first course included lectures like the following:

"The care of the child during the first year of life." "How does the child learn to think and to speak?" "The hygiene of the child." "Mother and children." "The culture of the æsthetic sense." "The importance of play." "Self instruction of instructors," etc.

This course, for which a class of 100 ladies enrolled, was so much appreciated that similar courses, with provision for a doubled attendance, were arranged for five consecutive years. At the same time, a series of conferences of parents with teachers was introduced which were attended by hundreds of parents.

Independently of the activities of the several groups, the Society engaged lecturers for its meetings, who came prepared to address the members. From four to ten of these lectures were delivered each year. The following, picked at random, were some of the topics: "Darwinism and Morality." "A few words by and on Dostojewsky." "Fundamental types of ethical scepticism." "Ethics in public life." "Demon Alcohol." "Philanthropy and social reform." "The race problem from an anthropological, sociological and ethical point of view." "Ethics and politics." "School and ethics," etc.

According to latest reports, after overcoming many difficulties, a branch Society has been established at Qualitsch with a charter membership of 40. The opening of branches at Graz, Linz, Troppau, and other places has been also discussed, and high hopes are entertained that in future the Austrian movement will not lag behind. "However, the difficulties put in the way by the public authorities are usually so great that a rapid spread of the movement is unlikely. Even the Vienna Society, like the German Society, is merely tolerated."

Switzerland is the only other European country with Ethical Societies which are affiliated with the Movement for Ethical Culture. "Die Schweizerische Gesellschaft für Ethische Kultur" was founded January 31st, 1896. It confined its operations, to begin with, to the lecture platform in order to spread its ideas. Later it interested itself in University Extension work which, through its agitation, was taken up by the Pestalozzi Society of Zurich. The discussion of "the tenement problem from an ethical and sanitary point of view" was a first effort in the direction of social reform. Sunday morning discourses, arranged for those estranged from the church, attracted an unexpectedly large attendance and won high praise from the local organ of the Swiss social-democratic party. As in Austria and Italy, this Society, after meeting for a few years with considerable success, failed to keep up interest in its aims. Although nominally still in existence, incidental causes have made necessary a suspension of activities. This occurrence is the more remarkable as Switzerland seemed to be the only country in which a majority of the clergy showed no prejudice against the movement and in which, on the contrary, some Protestant clergymen became its active members.

Moral instruction, in which, owing principally to the efforts and skill of Dr. Fr. W. Förster, a high degree of efficiency was attained, is the legacy which the Society has left behind. Dr. Förster is continuing his enterprises in moral instruction. In 1904 he was holding children's classes at Lucerne and training a teacher to continue his work. In a large volume, entitled "Jugendlehre" (11), he has published the results of his considerable experience. Another publication, entitled "Lebenskunde", a book for boys and girls (12), is, in the writer's modest opinion, one of the best text-books for moral instruction which have appeared in any language.

A second Swiss Society at Lausanne, the "Ligue pour l'Action morale, branche de la Suisse romande," has been more successful. It was established in March, 1899, mainly through the efforts of Professor Forel, who is still at its head. An "Aid society for dismissed insane persons," and a so-called "people's palace," are institutions which emanated from its labor.

The Society is exceedingly active in efforts for school reform. In 1902, Professor Millioud succeeded in introducing in the curriculum of the gymnasium at Lausanne a course of moral instruction which runs

through all the classes. In 1904 the league assisted in launching the so-called "Fédération des Sociétés Vaudois d'Éducation Populaire." Professor Forel is especially vigorous in his pleas for improvements in the system of education.

In *Japan*, the "Tokyo Ethical Society" was organized in 1898 by Mr. Tokiro Yokoi, who at one time had attended lecture courses by Dr. Adler, at Plymouth. Several of the faculty of the Imperial University are members of the Society. It aims "to promote ethical culture, to build up a strong and refined personality without regard to doctrinal distinction, religious belief, and moral thought." In addition to regular meetings, public lectures with discussions are given once a month. A monthly magazine is also being published. In *New Zealand* an Ethical Society has been started at Auckland. It is patterned in substance after those of the English Union of Ethical Societies. *Johannesburg* is another city in the British Colonies in which an Ethical Society is in existence. In *India*, an Ethical Society is reported to exist at Lahore. In Bombay, Bandra, and Lucknow so-called "Students' Brotherhoods" are in existence, whose aims appear to be identical with those of the Ethical Movement.

The International Union of Ethical Societies.

In 1893, the increasing activity in European centres gave rise to the idea that it might serve the purpose of enhancing the efficacy of the Ethical Movement, if the organizations which existed in the various countries could agree, in a more comprehensive union, on some mutual plan of procedure. This idea took tangible form in the project of an Ethical Federation which was to include all civilized lands. The initiative for its establishment was taken at a convention at Eisenach, in August, 1893, to which Germany, Austria, England and the United States sent delegates. The deliberations, however, took merely the form of preliminary discussions and nothing definite was decided upon.

In 1896 an international organization was finally effected, with a central station at Zurich, and Prof. F. W. Förster as secretary and organizer. Here, the so-called International Ethical Congress met on September 7th, 1896. It was preceded by a series of lecture courses on social science, which the Ethical Societies of Austria, Germany and Switzerland had arranged. Their purpose was, on the one hand, the

elaborating and disseminating of the ideas of the movement, and, on the other, the presenting by this means of a kind of object lesson of the problems which an "International Academy for Ethical Culture," the establishment of which was contemplated, must solve, if it would be a school of reform in the freest and most scientific sense of the word. The French Ministry of Education had deputed two eminent experts in its service, M. Buisson, Professor at Sorbonne, and M. Jost, Inspector General of public instruction. The following was the programme :

- (1) Ethical Principles. Prof. Harald Höffding, Copenhagen.
- (2) Contributions to Social Pedagogics. Prof. Staudinger, Worms.
- (3) The University Extension Movement. Dr. Emil Reich, Vienna.
- (4) On Education. M. von Egidy, Berlin.
- (5) Natural Science and the Conduct of Life. Prof. Wilhelm Förster, Berlin.
- (6) The Earliest Moral Instruction of Children. Dr. R. Penzig.
- (7) On the Reform of the Methods of Higher Education. Dr. R. Saitschick, Zurich.
- (8) The Fundamental Facts in the Life of Society. Prof. Ferdinand Tönnies, Kiel.
- (9) Socialism and the Social Movement in the Nineteenth Century. Prof. Werner Sombart, Breslau.
- (10) The Social Point of View in the Administration of the State and of the Community. Dr. J. Jastrow, Berlin.
- (11) On Associations. Landrat Stefan Gschwind, Basselland.
- (12) Social Evolution in Relation to Currency and Credit Systems, to Commerce, Trade, and Domestic Economy. Gustav Maier, Zurich.

"It may be asserted," writes Dr. F. W. Förster of these lecture courses, "without presumption or extravagance that we have never before had on the Continent such a collective treatment of the great questions affecting human society, such harmonious voicing of serious and liberal ideas concerning the conduct of life, concerning social politics, education, the labor movement, social organizations and popular enlightenment."

The Congress was opened by Prof. Adler, who, after the first busi-

ness, the reports of the delegates on the condition of the movement in their respective countries, on the following evening delivered an address on "Our Common Aims," which exercised great influence on the deliberations of the congress. In it he emphasized the fact that to him all merely external results achieved by the movement are of minor significance. To fix attention chiefly on the removal of the outward obstacles to human development can lead to no good purpose, since the inner reform must precede. Permanence and solidity and depth will be lacking, and the movement will not deserve to succeed, unless it creates in its midst a new spirit—unless a spirit of humility be cultivated among its own members.

The views expressed by him met with the readiest response and were embodied in the programme which the delegates adopted, to be made the corner stone of the Ethical Movement. Inasmuch as this programme presents the aims of the movement in a most comprehensive manner, it is given in full. Translated into English it reads as follows :

"The delegates of the first international Assembly of the Federated Societies recommend to the Federated Societies of the various countries represented, the following statement, subject to future expansion and revision :

"The prime aim of the Ethical Societies is to be of advantage to their own members. The better moral life is not a gift which we are merely to confer on others ; it is rather a difficult prize which we are to try with unwearying and unceasing effort to secure for ourselves. The means which are to serve this end are : first, the close contact into which our associations bring us with others having the same purpose in view ; second, the moral education and instruction of the young in ethical principles, which in their foundations are independent of all dogmatic presupposition ; third, guidance for adults in the task of moral self education.

"Furthermore, the Ethical Societies should define their attitude toward the great social questions of the present day, in the solution of which the part to be played by the moral forces of society is of the highest significance.

"We recognize that the efforts of the masses of the people to obtain a more humane existence, imply a moral aim of the greatest importance, and we consider it our duty to second these efforts with all pos-

sible earnestness and to the full extent of our ability. We believe, however, that the evil to be remedied is not only the material need of the poor, but that an evil hardly less serious is to be found in the moral need which exists among the wealthy, who are often deeply imperilled in their moral integrity by the discords in which the defects of the present industrial system involve them.

“We regard resistance to wrong and oppression as a sacred duty, and believe that under existing circumstances conflict is still indispensable as a means of clarifying men’s ideas of right and of obtaining better conditions. We demand, however, that the conflict be carried on within the limits prescribed by morality, in the interest of society as a whole and with a constant eye to the final establishment of social peace as the supreme consummation.

“We expect of the organs of the Ethical Federation that they will endeavor to provide, in so far as they are able, intellectual armor to serve in the social struggle—by this we mean the publication of careful scientific treatises, which shall have for their object to ascertain whether the positions of individualism and socialism are not susceptible of being united in a deeper philosophy of life; further, statistical investigations, to show with the impressiveness of facts, how profoundly our present conditions are in need of reform, and furthermore to see to it that the results thus obtained shall be spread far and wide so that the public conscience may be developed in the direction of a higher social justice.

“We leave it to the several Societies, according to the particular circumstances of the countries to which they belong, to carry out the above general purpose in particular ways; but we especially call upon all the members of the various Societies, in their individual capacity, to promote the progressive social movement of the times by simplicity in the conduct of life and by the display of an active public spirit.

“We recognize the institution of pure monogamic marriage as a priceless possession for mankind, indispensable for the moral development of the individual and for the permanent existence of civilization; but we demand that the monogamic idea shall express itself in the sentiments and practice of men with a degree of consistency which to a very great extent is still wanting.

“We demand for woman opportunity for the fullest development of her mental and moral personality, and realizing that her personality is

of equal worth with that of man, we pledge ourselves, as far as we are able, to secure the recognition of this equality in every department of life.

“ We regard especially the lot of female wage earners in industrial establishments and in personal service as one of the most grievous evils of the present time, and we will use such influence as we possess to restore all classes of the population the conditions upon which a true home life depends.

“ We regard it as a fundamental task of modern civilization to give back to the educational system the unity which it has in a large measure lost, and to replace the missing keystone once supplied by dogmatic teaching in schools and universities by setting up a common ethical purpose as the aim of all culture.

“ We heartily appreciate the efforts now being made to bring about universal peace among the nations, and we would contribute our share towards the success of these efforts by inwardly overcoming the military spirit, by endeavoring to counteract the attraction that military glory exerts upon the minds of the young, and by seeking to provide that the ethically valuable elements which the military system contains may find expression in nobler and worthier forms.

“ Furthermore, we would oppose that national egotism and national passion, which at the present day are just as dangerous foes of peace as are the prejudices and interests of the governing classes; and in times of excitement and of political hatred we will exert ourselves in conjunction with others who think as we do, to compel attention to the voice of reason and conscience.

“ We ask our Ethical Societies not only to direct their attention toward the outward extension of the movement, but to devote their utmost energy to the building up of a new ideal of life, which shall correspond to the demands of enlightened thinking, feeling and living, confident that such an ideal for which mankind is thirsting will in the end be of equal profit to all classes and to all nations.”

The International Union published a “ Report ” which appeared two or three times each year and was at first circulated in German, French and English, but latterly in German only, the intervals of publishing also becoming wider. Such a method of publication was necessarily expensive, and to that, it is said, was due the tendency to finally discontinue the “ Report ” altogether.

During 1905 and 1906 the International Union, which is now composed of England, Germany, France, Austria, Italy, Switzerland, and the United States, contemplated the holding of a second International Ethical Congress which was, again, to emphasize the basis of their common enthusiasm and to strengthen the existing bonds between the various Ethical Societies. It was agreed that the Congress should be held in London, and the date was fixed for September, 1906. In a personal letter, however, from the present international Secretary, Mr. Gustav Spiller, of London, the writer received information that "the Congress announced for this year will probably not take place."

Instead, according to Ethical Addresses, December, 1906, there was held at Eisenach, in July, 1906, an international conference of ethical leaders, who framed a new constitution, of which the following articles are of interest:

Article 1. Section 1. The name of this organization shall be "The International Union of Ethical Societies."

Article 3. Section 1. The general aim of the Union is: To assert the supreme importance of the ethical factor in all the relations of life—personal, social, national and international, apart from all theological and metaphysical considerations.

Section 2. The special aims are: (a) To bring the organizations of the Union into closer fellowship of thought and action. (b) To promote and to assist in the establishment of Ethical organizations in all countries, and to promote the incorporation of non-affiliated Ethical organizations into the Union. (c) To organize propaganda and to arrange ethical lecturing tours. (d) To publish and spread suitable literature. (e) To promote ethical education in general and systematic moral instruction in particular, apart from theological and metaphysical presuppositions. (f) To promote common action, by means of Special Congresses and otherwise, upon international issues calling for ethical clarification. (g) To maintain an international Ethical Library. (h) And to further other objects which are in harmony with the general aim of the Union.

Conclusions.

In the foregoing necessarily brief but, it is hoped, fairly comprehensive presentation of the history, aims and present status of the

Movement for Ethical Culture, chiefly local aspects were considered. There still remains the task of discussing the movement from a somewhat larger point of view.

Surveying its history from this vantage ground, and judging by past achievements, one can, it would appear, but come to the conclusion, that the outlook for future success seems, at best, problematical.

In order to furnish a basis for this conclusion, let us briefly analyze the elements which enter into the making of an Ethical Society and consider the factors which oppose the realization of its ideals.

Looking at the surface of things, the impartial critic will admit that there is a field for Ethical Societies, since the most notable characteristic of the last century has been such an increasing alienation—if not from Christian religion, from the Christian church—as to recall to the minds of many the judgment of Schopenhauer, that the church in its attitude towards the world is absolutely remote from the spirit of the modern age.

Although the prodigious influence of the life and personality of Christ is recognized by all, and his teaching is regarded as the expression of our highest ethical conceptions, there are those who criticise the church because, by calling into play the supernatural machinery of theology, it often shows a tendency to so exaggerate the notion of law as to conceive of life as mere obedience to a code of rules or precepts, which can but lead to a purely mechanical view of morality. This criticism of the church, although remaining unexpressed, is sometimes sustained by its own members. Dr. G. Stanley Hall, in an attempt to collect individual types of religious consciousness in order to determine "what men actually do believe," finds from his answers to a questionnaire, "that for a great many actively religious people the supernatural fills a very small part of the mind, and that their idea of religion is duty, following the teaching of Christ" (13a).

Hence it may happen that those whose reflection has led to the conviction that the highest stages of soul life are reached when man surrenders to that great governing principle which makes for righteousness, and who, therefore, are desirous of sweeping aside certain views which tend to keep the springs of religious faith compressed, cultivate a religious demand to which no satisfactory reply comes from the church.

Again, there is to be found a widely prevailing want of satisfaction

with scientific as well as with theological teaching. The objections to the former generally are that it is predisposed to the development of an orthodoxy of its own; that it includes a tendency so to overestimate the achievements of science as to believe "that all the fundamental conceptions of truth have already been found by Science, and that the future has only the details of the picture to fill in" (15).

It is said, by too obstinate adherence to principle, to be apt to breed a prejudice, to be likely to create a dangerous form of egotism which regards nothing as good except what one favors, and to prevent the making of a higher synthesis. But here again it may occur that deeper reflection opposes the, perhaps premature, judgments which superficial knowledge or prejudice has formed, and that the scientific thinker, impressed with the idea that natural science corroborates the necessity of treating religion as one part of a comprehensive view of the universe, yearns for some kind of a spiritual superstructure.

It must be obvious then, at least to those who concede that the psychological or subjective elements of religion and morality are the same or closely related, that to certain classes of men a Society for Ethical Culture will prove an attraction, that is to say, however, an ideal Ethical Society, an association of men and women who, willing to forget their religious and philosophical differences, are desirous of showing reverence to the ethical ideal.

Unfortunately, however, this ideal condition is not easily realized, for one meets, in those estranged from the church, with two distinct types. First, what may be called the contemplative type, consisting of such who, although rejecting theological dogma, inquire more deeply into the problems which engage human thought and discover that, like everything human, the mind of man is marred by human limitations. With Lessing, who wrote (17): "If God held absolute truth enclosed in his right, and in his left an ever active longing for truth, and bid me: choose! Even though it involve the certainty of eternal error, I should in all humility point to his left and say: Father, give! for plain truth, after all, is but for Thee alone," with Lessing they would without hesitation choose the left. Not that they wish to imply that the search after truth is to be preferred to its possession, for they are well aware that Lessing's famous saying luxuriated in the spirit of a doubting age. Nor that they underestimate the power of intellect in its rightful sphere. But because they fully

recognize the difficulty of attaining final truth, and, therefore, humbly stand ready to confess that, notwithstanding all intellectual achievements, we are but children playing on the beach, picking up here and there a bright pebble from the shore of knowledge, while a boundless ocean of the unknown stretches out beyond.

Not so the second, or aggressive type. They apparently have made it their task at all hazards to rescue religion from metaphysics in order to place it on the more tangible basis of moral experience. Overlooking the fact that no man holding strong beliefs on one side of a question can investigate it with such fairness and completeness as if he were really in doubt and unbiased, they persist in attacking problems which many deem far too sublime and exalted for that sort of inquiry. Encompassed in the false psychology of an extreme intellectualism, they do not perceive the absurdity of antagonizing supernaturalism by adopting its own standpoint. The thought that possibly it is the function of religion merely to bring ideals into the realm of reality, is one which occurs to them no more than to the supernaturalists, nor that, consequently, it would be unjust to require of a religion anything more than an allegorical reflection of the truth. Instead of being in the van, then, as it fondly believes, extreme rationalism has been outflanked by modern Christianity, which has recognized the error of both, rationalists and supernaturalists, namely, of seeking in religion dry, literal truth.

These two types, as has been pointed out, are more or less represented in Ethical Societies, and one can easily see how the predominance of the one or the other might have a bearing on a society's work or on its standing in the community. Couple herewith the notorious indifference met with by the reformer in the masses, who are wont to follow the path of least resistance wherever that leads, and the fact that, in the past, all efforts to attract the poor and the untaught to a religion without mysticism have never been conspicuously successful, and we have here undoubtedly some of the factors which tend to impede a more rapid spread of the movement.

Turning to the aims of the movement, one cannot help, above all, being struck with the appalling complexity of the problem which confronts it. Regeneration of the individual and of society as a whole! What a confused picture these words call up before the mental eye, when one begins to speculate on the ways and means of realizing this

aim. Moral, religious, social and economic difficulties so closely interwoven, interpenetrating and overlapping each other in such a manner, as to make one doubt the possibility of finding a remedy for one unless its application can be extended to cover the group as a whole.

In this dilemma the movement resorts to, what has ever been the harbor of refuge in periods of social, religious and political unrest, the reconstruction of ideals, tottering amid the turbulent conditions of the times, upon the more solid foundations of morality. Holding that the problem is not so much a social and political, as rather a moral and religious one, like primitive Christianity, it offers regeneration through a change of the heart and will on the part of the individual, implying thereby that, whatever social advancement is attainable, must be established upon the basis of individual morality. There are, however, certain provisions which the movement stipulates. Ethics must be independent of the truth of religious beliefs and philosophical theories and should be placed upon a strictly anthropological and psychological foundation. With these conditions fulfilled, recognizing the fact that normal and healthy progress is by an evolution of the better out of the good and that, in the moral as well as in every field, the true function of development consists in promoting some phase of this evolution, the movement conceives as its task that of aiding to create a better environment, of getting sight of higher ideals and of encouraging others to emulate the adoption of the unselfish life of the spirit.

The plan is very succinct and clear indeed, but, to use Dr. Förster's words in criticising the French moral pedagogy, with all respect for the honest and exalted intentions of the movement, one must confess that its conception of the matter is perhaps, after all, somewhat too simple. The chief difficulty obviously presents itself in the mooted question :

Is morality without religion at all possible?

It is generally discussed from a theoretical point of view, and by employing scientific methods of investigation an affirmative answer may be arrived at. The answer will depend on :

(1) the definition of the term "religion," which may be made as broad as possible, to cover every possible form of belief, even that differential element which is supposed to characterize the true religion of the future, or to include merely the concrete beliefs and practices of religions of the past and of the present time ;

(2) the avoidance of confusion between the terms religion and theology; the latter being a theory about the world and its causes as objects of religion, while religion is simply an attitude of mind toward them, involving emotional elements; and

(3) the conception of morality, which may comprehend either the subjective or the objective aspects of it or both.

From a certain point of view, then, one would be even justified in asserting that the ideal character of the divine is a reflection of a previously developed moral consciousness.

The theoretical aspects of the question, however, are of but minor importance as compared with its practical significance. With religion removed as the sustaining sanction of morality, what leverage can one command to lead men to the pursuit of the moral goal?

"Savonarola," writes Dr. Adler, "in one of those powerful sermons of his, the echoes of which have reverberated through the centuries, puts the question why it is that men choose the life of pleasure and worldly advantage rather than the good life, which on its own account is so much to be preferred; and he answers by saying that 'their eyes are blinded by the mists of the world, so that they cannot see the good life in all its beauty.' Could they do so, it would exercise upon them an irresistible attraction. In this statement is indicated the method of propaganda which every moral movement must use. The thing to do is for the teachers, the leaders . . . to be aglow with moral passion, and to kindle in others the same fire. . . . All the great moral movements of the world have radiated from great personalities" (1).

The answer to this proposition is: Where shall we look for such men, powerful enough to inculcate in others a love for moral action, when the life and example of a Christ fails to impress them? Certain privileged epochs, as is well known, have produced pleiads of saints, that is to say, of men who are rightly considered to have attained the highest moral development. That source of moral action has flowed abundantly during the first centuries of Christianity, when the very blood of thousands of martyrs flowed freely. "Never was there a more magnificent efflorescence of saints, never, perhaps, did man rise higher, from a moral point of view, or in the matter of self-sacrifice. And yet, never was society more debased" (7).

History teems with stories of good and spiritual men who raised

their voices in protestation against numberless evils and preached with their examples, and yet how little they swayed the minds of the multitudes, for the world still lieth in wickedness.

Again, the movement refers to the sense of duty, in the Kantian sense of the word, the respect for the moral law, a rational fact of such universality that it cannot possibly be misunderstood. "Ethics, in so far as founded on the Idea of Humanity . . . is by itself complete and entire; so that mankind neither requires the idea of any Superior Person to enable him to investigate his duty, nor does he need any incentive or spring to its execution other than the law itself" (16). Hence, the movement's appeal is directly to the conscience.

But what is conscience? For the one who postulates a moral government of the Universe, an Ego back of the physical organization of man, a doctrine of moral adjustment in a future state, in brief, for the religious man it may prove an adequate moral guide and criterion of conduct. To the one, however, who rejects all these postulates, it is apt to mean nothing more than any other state of consciousness. It simply represents the mind occupied with moral phenomena, whereby the mental faculties develop and group themselves in some particular and original way, and the psychic phenomena associate themselves in some peculiar manner. On this hypothesis, a man's moral judgments will depend on the accidental organization of his nervous system, heredity, temperament, education, physical and social environment—in a word, on the degree of his intellectual and physical development. While conscience may clearly develop a moral ideal, the moral value and inherent motive power of the latter will depend on an individual's standing in the intellectual and cultural scale.

From the higher standpoint, every capacity or opportunity implies a duty, but in the case of an *ignorant or unreflecting* person, conduct is likely to be settled through the constraint of law or perhaps of conformity to nature, and through the degree of satisfaction of desires derived from obedience to these. There is little in his mental make-up to suggest to him that he should live any other than a conventional life, hence, his conduct being moulded by the circumstances which surround him, the development of a capacity to him is apt to be a question mainly of its conduciveness to material welfare.

It is one thing, then, to say that *cultured* men, who have reached the reflective stage of self-consciousness, will find in the realm of

ideas sufficient motives for action, and another thing to maintain that *all* men can be safely left to do so.

More convincing proof for this assertion may be found by pushing on to somewhat deeper strata of the soul.

If we analyze the religious conscience, we find it characterized by the presence and predominance of the religious sentiment of mingled love and fear towards the Deity, which rests in the emotional element of the human soul.

From the Kantian standpoint, also, conscience is purely an emotional function which includes in it neither intellectual nor moral judgment. Morality, from his point of view, influenced probably by the desire to restore beliefs which had been destroyed by his criticism, aims at the regeneration of the will, hence, action in accordance with the "categorical imperative," which commands unconditional obligation and involves *respect or reverence* for the moral law, is the only requirement. This requirement the *ignorant* as well as the learned and cultured are able to fulfill.

In the case of mental types we are discussing, on the other hand, conscience is not a unique, simple power, but assumes the character of a complex organism in whose nature there is nothing different from other mental activities as such, save their direction. It assumes a cognitive, judicial and legislative function, and accordingly, the degree of its authority will depend on the development and co-ordination of its elements. If the appeal be to the cognitive element alone, conscience will give the knowledge of virtue, but not its power. It will prescribe duties, but it will not kindle the feelings which are the impulse to duty. Thus one could perceive more or less clearly, and acknowledge a moral ideal, and yet feel no compulsion to live up to it. Morality sanctioned by conscience appealing to reason only, can at best be but a formal one. It is, what may be called, moral theology, and inadequate, because it is an abstraction. To induce moral action, *in cultured* and uncultured alike, the appeal must be to man as a psychological entity, and include feeling, that emotional element which comprehends the sense of obligation and the feeling of constraint.

But when we proceed to take into account feeling as a factor in morality, then, of course, we have arrived at the borderground of religion,—inarticulate, if you please,—but still religion.

And this brings us to the point which has been aimed at.

Dr. Martineau (18), discussing the influence of declining religious belief on morality, writes as follows: "We pay, I am disposed to think, too great a compliment to the Greek mythology when we attribute the ethical decay of later Athens and Corinth to the growing scepticism about its gods. The public life was dead. The theatre of great passion and great action was closed. The calls for sacrifice, the opportunities for national expansion, were gone, and the political school for the discipline of character was no longer there. With the loss of a progressive history, the springs of heroic emulation suffered atrophy, a sickly hue passed over literature, philosophy, and art; and the subsidence of human loves and cares upon low Epicurean levels was inevitable though the Olympian deities had never been dethroned." This is well said. But did not the writer overlook the fact that this lack of emotional incentive, so graphically described by him, dwarfed and atrophied that psychic element in man which is both the seat of the religious sentiment as well as the main spring of moral action? Religion and morality in the concrete, may not affect each other directly, but they are apt to do so by force of their psychological relationship. The source of the one being, at the same time, an important function of the other, they may be expected to act and react on one another by their reciprocal play upon this common element. Being thus intimately connected, it follows that any attempt of basing existence on morality alone and of disregarding religion altogether, by dulling those deepest of our emotions, sympathy, love, and veneration, which are the most powerful motives of human nature, to a certain extent, involves the defeat of its own aim.

Granting then that, to a certain extent, morality without religion is possible, that the principles of duty would remain, that judgments between right and wrong would, in the main, be unaffected; so that the moral code emerging from these premises would not materially differ from that which is recognized by all great religions; granting all this, one may still question whether disestablishment of religion and ethics is *desirable*. But few, it would seem, will venture to give an affirmative answer, even though now we substitute religion in the concrete for the general term.

The difference grows out of the addition of practical to sentimental considerations.

It has already been pointed out that the objections of a majority of

those who hold themselves aloof from the church do not, in the main, arise from the fact that religion as such does not appeal to them. This is manifested by the manner and direction in which the Movement for Ethical Culture in the United States, and partly also in England, has developed. Here the construction of a morality without religion has not been consistently carried out, for it is obvious that motives were introduced which may be said to have been in reality of religious origin. In fact, it would seem that, at this time, many in the movement stand closer to religion in its essence than they appear to, or are willing to admit, and that, indeed, they have builded better than they knew. What they really object to is the dogmatic and ecclesiastical form of religion, emanating from attempts of the church to prescribe its external character and to guide external action directly.

That this external form, created by the rulers of the church, and dependent on their state of culture and the selfishness or unselfishness of their motives, should be imperfect and open to criticism, seems inevitable.

At the same time, even the casual observer of the development of Christianity, in fact, of nearly all higher forms of religion, cannot fail to perceive, as the horizon of human knowledge is gradually widened, a steady tendency to modify the traditions of the past which are identified too closely with the interests of the church as organization, and to restore the higher position, namely, that moral regeneration is internal. May one then not consider whether it is not possible so to distinguish between a polemic against ecclesiastical intervention and attacks on religion as such, as to be able to repudiate the formal and external and retain that which is vital and essential?

The difficulty, as a German writer adroitly points out (19), arises from the fact "that religion is under the care of the very organization whose influence is so objectionable. The result is that an attack on the Church is almost invariably harmful to the religious life of the community, and so indirectly injurious to morality. This danger can be avoided only if those members of the Church who make a clear distinction between the essence of religion and ecclesiastical dogmatism strive perpetually to bring about such a reformation in the Church that the former will become more and more prominent, and the latter come to be recognized as merely the symbol and vehicle of religious and ethical conceptions. The Church, as the organization of the religion of the

community, is so powerful that it cannot be affected by any attacks and attempts at rivalry that proceed from non-religious sources. . . . If one would enter the field with some hope of success against churchly dogmatism and ecclesiastical supremacy, one must enlist the aid of religion itself, and employ against the narrow and obscure conceptions of the Church dogmas, the ideal of a morally pure and undefiled religion. This can only be done from within."

Here a solution of the problem is suggested which certainly seems feasible, even though it is probably too much to expect that these changes, like all changes which are desirable, will come about except by the slow process of historical development. Men advanced in years, having long-standing preconceived opinions and convictions, do not easily overcome their prejudices. This is undoubtedly true of all, inside and out of the church alike.

It is mainly this fact which opens for Ethical Societies a fertile field of activity but, at the same time, indicates their method of approach. Standing for the elevation of the inner life of mankind, the spinning out of those finer textures of character which in this material, rationalistic age are apt to be left to themselves, and for the advance from a negative to a positive era, they cannot hope to realize this aim by underestimating the value of one of the most subtle factors in human action, the religious sentiment. Being in earnest, as they undoubtedly are, in demanding a truly ideal morality, they must generate and foster in those within their sphere of influence habits of preperception which anticipate future exigencies of life. For the ideals of a truly ethical community do not cluster around the narrow limits of the present, nor are they reflected in the concave mirror of the past, but they are, in the words of President Hall, "representative of that great cloud of humanity which in the long perspective of future generations will throng the earth, and compared to which the 1,500,000,000 people of to-day are but a handful" (13 b.).

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NOTE ON GENESIS III.

Cheyne's Traditions and Beliefs of Ancient Israel.

A. E. WHATHAM.

In the August, 1905, number of the *American Journal of Religious Psychology* under, "The Outward Form of the Original Sin," I attempted to explain the character of the narrative in Genesis III, from an anthropological standpoint. Accepting the mythical framework upon which the present narrative had been woven, I endeavored to show that folklore and figure made up a detail whose result was "a veiled description of the first human physical union and its consequences." Dr. Cheyne in his recent work, indicated at the heading of this article, has done me the honor of referring to my view of Genesis III, without, however, accepting my explanation of it. Indeed this he rejects on the ground that "The framework of the story being mythical, it is unnatural to spoil the myth by treating its detail as symbolic or euphemistic" (p. 81). Unfortunately what he objects to in my case he has resorted to in his own, since he tells us that "the phrase 'eating dust' could be used also of men as well as of serpents; it is a figure for the deepest humiliation" (p. 82).

But if the narrative contains one symbolical figure, why may it not contain more? Indeed, by the admission that it contains one room is provided for assuming that it does. Thus singularly Dr. Cheyne has himself destroyed the objection he advanced for rejecting my explanation of Genesis III.

When we come to examine Dr. Cheyne's own explanation of the narrative we find it, so it appears to me, singularly unsatisfactory. To begin with, he rejects the representation of the existence of two trees, of life and knowledge respectively, claiming that in the original story there was but one tree which possessed the power of bestowing both gifts (p. 76). Now this may be true, yet to reject one of the trees in the narrative as it stands is to destroy the entire story in its present setting. By the immediate eating of the tree of knowledge the gift indicated is bestowed fully and completely (Driver-Genesis, p. 46). In like manner it is inferred that the eating of the tree of life would at once have conferred immortality. With the acceptance of the story with but one tree possessing the double gift of life and knowledge, continued eating would have been necessary for the increase of knowledge and the continuance of life, which is contrary to both the spirit and statement of the narrative.

Again, Dr. Cheyne, as I have intimated, rejects the view that the narrative gives a veiled representation of the first human physical union and its consequences (p. 80), but concedes that the fruit eaten conveyed the knowledge of the godlike power possessed by the first human pair of reproducing themselves (p. 76). In other words, the consciousness or "the difference of the sexes" (p. 80), with the capacity for "sexual relation" (p. 76).

Now mark, Dr. Cheyne represents all this as the knowledge which the magic fruit conveyed (p. 76), *i. e.* with the eating, a knowledge which made them immediately "sensible that they were naked" (p. 80), whereupon, feeling ashamed, "they

sewed fig-leaves together and made themselves aprons (girdles)" (*ib.*). But if the knowledge to be obtained was merely the consciousness of the godlike power of reproduction, this had already been revealed to them by the serpent in his statement, "ye shall be as gods," a statement which, signifying reproduction, necessarily included what must have been a conscious reference to the difference of sex between the human pair. But no shame was as yet felt by the man and the woman of a nakedness of which the serpent's statement had made them sensible. It was not until after the fruit had been eaten that shame at this exposure was felt. How true is all this to human experience. Shame is not felt until knowledge has been put into execution. The eating, therefore, must have included something beyond the mere knowledge of nakedness. It included the "exercise of a virile manhood," to use the words of Professor Barton (*Semitic Origins*, p. 94). Nor are we left in doubt as to what this scholar means, since he immediately intimates that the fruit of the tree as eaten represented the act of sexual union to which end the narrative represents the serpent as urging the man and the woman. It was then at the consummation of this union that their eyes were opened, not to their nakedness, for of this they had been aware before they had eaten of the tree, but to the shame arising from the use they had now made of their previous conscious nakedness.

Thus with Trumbull and Crawley, to whom Dr. Cheyne might have added, Peters and Barton, I am in good company in explaining Genesis III, as depicting in a veiled manner the first human physical union and its consequences and, if I am not mistaken, this explanation is the only one which can harmonize the details with the general drift of the narrative.

But to continue, Dr. Cheyne in opposition to my view of the two trees as "symbolic of conditions or states," claims that his one tree is a real tree, and that although the last editor misunderstood the capacities of this tree, its fruit, "according to him, was a real fruit; probably he thought of the *duda'im* of Gen. XXX, 14, which, as we know, were thought to have aphrodisiac qualities" (p. 81). But this is impossible, seeing that the mandrake is of the family of the potato, a small low plant, one which could never have been spoken of as a tree. But this after all is only what Dr. Cheyne assumes the last editor may have thought, since elsewhere he asks, "Can we get behind the narrative and identify the tree of life," and he then assumes that it was the date-palm (pp. 77, 102). I am inclined, however, with the Greeks, and some of the Rabbis, to view it as the fig-tree, which from early times had been regarded by the Semitic Babylonians, and evidently by the Semites generally, as a sacred tree. The date-palm appears to have been the special sacred tree of the East, but there were others, amongst them the fig and the pomegranate (see Ezekiel-SBOT, pp. 181, 182; Perrot and Chipiez's "Art in Chaldæa and Assyria;" Trumbull's "Threshold Covenant," p. 230; Barton's "Semitic Origins," p. 90). Professor Barton, with Cheyne, thinks that in the original story of Genesis III, there was but one tree, and he identifies the tree of knowledge with the date-palm mentioned in the Jewish book of Enoch (chap. 24). Dillman, however, in commenting upon the tree of knowledge (Genesis, Vol. I, p. 153), refers to Enoch 32, where the tree of knowledge is referred to as "like the Carob tree: its fruit is like the clusters of the vine, very beautiful." Athenæus in his "Deipnosophists," refers to the fig-tree as "the guide to men to lead them to a more civilized life." He adds, "The Athenians call the place where it was first discovered The Sacred Fig; and the fruit from it they call *hegeteria*, that is to say, 'the guide,' because that was the first to be discovered of all the fruits now in cultivation" (p. 125).

There is no reference in the O. T. to dates, whereas figs are frequently referred to. Dr. Cheyne thinks that the fruit Eve partook of and then gave to Adam was the equivalent of an intoxicating drink in its evident possession of exhilarating qualities, which is another reason for his seeing the date-palm in the tree of knowledge, date wine being the most used intoxicant in Arabia and in early Babylonia and Assyria (pp. 77, 78). But it would seem that figs were also considered exhilarating in the sense inferred in the narrative in Genesis. Athenæus refers to a fruit like the fig in shape called *glukuside* against which women guarded themselves on account of its evil effect. What this evil effect was we know from the significance attached to figs and pomegranates which, owing to their innumerable seeds, were common symbols of woman's prolific powers. Pausanias refers to a statue of the goddess Hera as holding in one hand a sceptre and in the other a pomegranate. "As to the pomegranate," he says, "let me pass that over, for I am forbid to speak of it" (B. II, c. 17). We know, however, from other sources what the pomegranate signified. Hera was the patron deity of marriage, her sceptre represented authority, and her pomegranate fertility. The pomegranate entered largely into Babylonian and Assyrian art decoration as a symbol of fertility. Sargon is represented standing before a sacred conventionalized tree covered with fruit, in one hand he carries three pomegranates, their stems verging into one which he holds, while his other hand is raised in the posture of prayer. The scene evidently depicts a ritual act significant of fruitfulness (Perrot and Chipiez *ib.*, p. 99). Pomegranates were as much prized by the Hebrews as figs, and were much used in their art and ritual adornments. There is, therefore, every reason to assume that they were familiar with its phallic significance, as also with the fig in its associated connection. The fig was carved on Roman monuments as the symbol of the female power of reproduction (Westropp-Primitive Symbolism, p. 31).

With all this evidence before us we can understand why the aprons were represented as made of fig leaves, since the leaves were connected with the fruit they had just eaten, and bore the same phallic significance. That the woman herself in replying to the serpent added, "neither shall ye touch it lest ye die," in no sense makes against our suggestion, but rather strengthens it. They had eaten of the forbidden tree, and they now further transgress by taking of its leaves to hide a nakedness which was too vivid a reminder of their first transgression. Thus it is that poor human nature vainly attempts to cover up its wrong doing by fresh acts of violence. Nor is anything to be gained by asking, why they did not choose the leaves of some other kind of tree. One may as well ask why they did not eat of the tree of life immediately after eating of the tree of knowledge. Both trees grew in the midst of the garden, and being near one another the guilty pair might easily have counteracted the evil effect of eating of the one by eating of the other. The narrative suggests that they knew the property of the tree of life, and so knowing they were driven out of the garden and prevented returning for fear they should put forth their hands and take also of this tree. They had plenty of time to take of it before they were driven out. Why did they not do it? Simply because the narrator did not intend that they should. He is retelling an old myth with alterations and additions to suit the purpose he has in view, and not recording actual historic detail. Despite Dr. Cheyne's objection, the narrative in Genesis III is still best explained as an allegory based upon an ancient myth, and filled in with folklore and symbolism.

Dr. Cheyne referring to my suggestion that fig-leaves were chosen from which to

make the aprons because of their phallic significance, asks, "what evidence is there that the Semitic peoples regarded them as symbols of sex?" The answer is easy. The O. T. is full of evidence that the Hebrews knew of, made, and wore phallic ornaments. It is not at all likely then that they would have been ignorant of the phallic meaning of the fig and its leaves.

But again, Dr. Cheyne thinks that "The serpent to the editor is as free from lustfulness as the erect (because semi-divine) serpent represented in bronze by Nebuchadnezzar" (p. 81). Dr. Cheyne, however, gives no evidence as warrant for this assertion, consequently we may dismiss it as a mere personal opinion expressed without any adequate reason, an opinion, moreover, which appears to us to be contrary to the plain teaching of the narrative. Professor Barton once doubted the accuracy of the Rabbis seeing in this serpent the symbol of sexual passion (Sem. Orig., p. 93). In reply, however, to a communication from me in which I had given reasons for practically adopting this opinion of the Rabbis, he wrote, "I am convinced by the evidence you present that you are right." In my original article I had claimed that the Rabbis "were in error in viewing the serpent as the mere personification of sexual passion, but that there was something after all in the thought (p. 273) . . . viz.; that it rightly interpreted the serpent's presence in Genesis III, to be based upon its erotic designs on women" (p. 274). Dr. Cheyne holds that "The object of his conversation with the woman is not altogether clear," and "the true sequel of the opening of the eyes in Genesis VII has perished" (p. 79). The object, however, is perfectly clear if our interpretation of this narrative be correct, and the sequel of the opening of the eyes has not been lost, but is very much in existence in unlawful sexual indulgence, more commonly practiced than any other sin. That the object of Genesis III was to describe the origin of this evil I am still convinced, an opinion in which I have the support of many able scholars. The conversation of the serpent with the woman was consequently for the purpose of proposing this sexual union, an opinion Professor Barton has also expressed in so many words; while the opening of the eyes indicates its accomplishment.

I am at a loss to understand Dr. Cheyne's reference to my explanation of the curse on the serpent and his seed as "a new and somewhat strange interpretation" (p. 81). It was as follows,— "This is the curse on the serpent, viz., that having hitherto possessed the power of erect movement while still retaining its natural shape, "Henceforth it shall only move on its belly, a degraded and despised creeping thing" (p. 279). Says Driver, "The mark of the serpent's curse consists in its crawling gait, and dusty food" (Genesis p. 47). Says Dillman, "This creeping in the dust makes it a low despised creature" (Genesis p. 157). As so far agreeing with my representation these two noted scholars evidence that there is nothing new and strange in my explanation of the curse. I say, so far, because perhaps Dr. Cheyne has reference to what is really the outcome of the curse,— "it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel." My explanation of these words was that although the woman by her greater passion had been the seducer of the man, yet she would eventually overcome the mere desire for sexual intercourse in seeking marriage for higher aims and purposes; it was to be a triumph of reason over sense (pp. 280, 284). This I claimed was to be the real protevangelium of this passage (p. 15, p. 281). But if it is this interpretation to which Dr. Cheyne alludes as "new and strange;" while I concede that it may be *new*, what is there *strange* about it? The curse on the woman is definitely represented as causing her to continue passionately desiring the man for sexual union (ver. 16; see Driver, Dillmann,

etc., on this verse). But this cannot possibly be viewed as of perpetual continuance, since it is contrary to experience and our very conception of the purity of woman. A victory, therefore, over what is undoubtedly represented as the sequel of the curse put upon the woman must be assumed. It is this victory which I have represented as foreshadowed in the triumph of the woman's seed over that of the lustful serpent. If my interpretation of this whole narrative is correct, then there is nothing strange in my particular interpretation of the hope held out to the woman, since it is simply in keeping with, while a glorious ending to, the moral of the story.

It seems to me that Dr. Cheyne's mistake is in rejecting the view, which he concedes is that of the majority of scholars, of the story in Genesis III, as a compact whole. Undoubtedly it is made up of the different elements to which I have referred, but the object in gathering these elements together is to narrate a fresh and complete story based upon an old myth, a story in which folklore and figure have been included, and which can be best, or indeed only satisfactorily explained from an anthropological standpoint.

We shall refer to but one other point, viz., Dr. Cheyne's opinion that the last editor, or in other words, the narrative as we have it, represents that "it was not God's will that man and woman should beget children" (p. 82). Now here, undoubtedly, we have a strange interpretation of the drift of this narrative, and one not only without adequate evidence, but also contrary to its representation. The reason offered for this opinion is "that God was jealous of his aspiring creature man," and Dr. Cheyne refers us to cp. iii 22, vi 3, and xi 1-9. But notice that all these passages occur after God declared that the desire of the woman should be to her husband and that she should bring forth children with pain, so that to say that God was not willing that the man and woman should beget children because he was jealous of their ambition when because of this very ambition he predicts the begetting of children with pain, is to make the narrative contradict itself. It is true that the narrative represents God as being angry owing to the consummation of the act of union between the man and the woman. But this was merely because this union had been brought about from a mere lustful desire, and not because of this union in itself. The three first chapters of Genesis taken together plainly indicate that God intended the man and the woman to beget children, and that notwithstanding their transgression He still purposed their accomplishing of this end. Dr. Cheyne claims that "the lore of sexual taboo does not help us here." On the contrary, it appears to me to be exactly what does help us. It is the danger of unchecked license in sexual union, with the necessity of temporary restraint, which the narrative intends to teach, both features being included in the well known custom of sexual taboo (Crawley—*The Mystic Rose*, pp. 343-345).

In criticising Genesis III, Dr. Cheyne has not attempted to explain this narrative as a whole, indeed he rejects the idea that it is "a compact whole." He has not, therefore, attempted to draw any spiritual or moral lesson from this wonderful story, while his explanation of some of its details is, as we have seen, both singular and without warrant. And here, in closing, I will take the opportunity of referring to Driver's explanation of Genesis III. He, too, appears to me to miss the real purport of the story, while of one particular he gives an extraordinarily absurd explanation. Referring to the curse on woman that she should bring forth children with pain, he says, "even in regard to child-bearing, it is no doubt the case that at this critical moment of a woman's life, the sense of past wrong doing weighs peculiarly upon her" (*ib.* p. 49). There is no need here for comment.

Since the above was written, there has appeared the interesting volume on "Palaces of Crete and Their Builders," by Angelo Mosso. Amongst other discoveries in this ancient centre of primitive worship, two female figurines have been found which Mr. Evans, their discoverer, terms "Snake-goddess." Mosso gives merely a description of these statuettes without explaining their significance beyond alluding to the term applied to them by Evans (pp. 187, 274). From their dress and ornaments, they are evidently priestesses. Both hold serpents in their hands, and one has serpents coiled round the waist; while in both the maternity idea is strikingly emphasized by the prominently exposed breasts. It will be remembered that in my former article (*The Outward Form of the Original Sin* p. 275), I referred to the dedication and marriage of priestesses with the snake-god; together with the widespread belief in the association of the woman with the serpent for erotic purposes. In alluding to female idols brought from New Guinea, which show a serpent in a similar association to that which I have maintained is intimated in Gen. III, I had then no idea that in a few months the explorer's spade would bring to light in Crete female figurines of an ancient worship in which evidently the serpent and woman are erotically associated. This remarkable find, so near the centre in which Gen. III, was composed, seems to me to complete the evidence I had already given in support of the opinion that the associating of the woman with the serpent in Gen. III, is based upon the widespread primitive belief in their erotic relationship.

LITERATURE.

The Foreign Missionary, an Incarnation of a World Movement, by ARTHUR JUDSON BROWN, Fleming H. Revell Company, New York, 1907. pp. 412.

This author gives us here a comprehensive discussion in nineteen chapters of the missionary's motive and aim, of missionary administration, qualification, appointment, work, support, physical, intellectual and spiritual life, relations to the Board, the home church, the natives, the associates, critics, the spirit and reward of the missionary. The author has corresponded and travelled in mission lands and his book is the best so far in the field. There are now 18,591 Protestant foreign missionaries in non-Christian lands, and in 1906 the Christians of Europe and America gave for maintenance of these churches, hospitals, schools, etc., over \$21,000,000. The stations and out-stations aggregate 36,748 and the number of definitely known adult converts and adherents is 6,202,631. The missionary is a central figure in all this great movement and there has been too little written about him. We are told that the old days of cheap living have passed away, that the Asiatic knows well our own vices and ways, even our sectarian differences and still worse our irreligion, so that we no longer confront a cringing heathenism, but an aroused militant Asia which has wakened to a new consciousness of unity and power. In every colony the dominant power is hated because no subject people love their conquerors. China is filled with a proud-spirited people, chafing because foreigners occupy so many of their best harbors and because foreign equipments of war menace their very capital. The occurrences of the last few years have greatly increased the hostility of the Chinese for all foreigners. The gulf between the East and the West is widening and as traders, travellers and officials greatly outnumber missionaries, it is they that fix the status of the foreigner in the native mind and their conduct has intensely aggravated the hostility against the whites which is often indiscriminating and very hard to overcome. The Oriental does not object to Christianity as such, but is hospitable and tolerant, and every new religion is an object of curiosity. The missionary finds it very difficult to adapt himself to the habits and customs of the people among whom he works, but this is essential in order to bridge the barriers. The Westerner is apt to be brusque and peremptory. He is in a hurry, while the Oriental is never impatient of delays. The latter is polite and ceremoniously leisurely and lays great stress upon manners. Surely the missionary must know the people among whom he works to understand customs and etiquette. To look at a Chinese official through glasses is rather insulting and missionaries who wear them have to explain. To call in a sedan chair with short handles is an insult. Presents must be wrapped in a peculiar way. To walk rapidly classes one with a coolie. To ask for the health of a moslem's wife is an inexcusable insult. To count the children brings bad luck. The native mode of salutation is often far better than our handshaking. Squatting and even sleeping on the floor is often ceremonial. Many of our works of art are regarded as highly improper. We often do not laugh aright. For our women not to wear veils is indecent in many lands and provokes the vilest kind of gossip. To teach boys

and girls in the same school, to break up the seclusion of woman in the far East is often disastrous and revolutionary. If China becomes Christian, her churches will not be Gothic, nor her schoolhouses like ours, but they will conform to the native taste. Outbreaks have been caused by tapping an idol with a cane, by entering a mosque without removing the shoes. Visitors, too, have committed unpardonable acts of sacrilege. This author very conservatively declares "Some study of the natives' religion is a wise preparation for successful missionary work." This is extremely tame because religion is the root of every one's life and no matter how low, or how base the religion is, one can only understand a man through it. The very first requirement of a missionary should be not only to know but to idealize, and that in all possible detail, the religion of those among whom he labors.

The Historical Bases of Religions, Primitive, Babylonian, and Jewish, by HIRAM CHELLIS BROWN. Herbert Turner & Co., Boston, 1906. pp. 319.

The author devotes the first chapter to the origin and development of the religious sense which he thinks acquired slowly by man through ages of misconception and ignorance solely by human means, just as every other faculty is developed, although it has filled a larger place in human thought than any intellectual sense and is a most important factor in molding human character. Only when guided by reason and properly restrained does it exert not only a powerful but a salutary influence upon the individual and upon the community. Part second is devoted to the Babylonian religion and part third to the Jewish which takes up more than half the book and in which he treats of the land of Canaan, the descendents of Shem, tradition versus history, God and prophets, Mosaism, Deuteronomy and Judaism. Those who wrote religious and ancient histories almost never desired to leave an unbiased statement, but sought to give weight and currency to institutious and doctrines which they were in fullest sympathy with. This was especially the case with the Jews whose literature was priestly. Beside the old traditional view of the rise, meaning and importance of the Israelites, is the new one that Israel arose just as other nations did, were no special favorites of heaven or in any sense divinely led. They had no divine mission and the importance with which they have been accredited is due to false assumption. All the evidence to the contrary is based on the Scriptures itself. The Jews had little respect for their own ancient history and condemned the earlier development, allowing only that of the Mosaic time and its Davidic reflex to stand. Their purpose, in other words, was not history, but the theocratic ideal, and this annihilated the sense of objective truth and regard for actual events. Never were there more audacious history makers than the Rabbins. Every nation has its ideals. Those of the Greeks were embodied in their art and literature, the Roman in law and the Jewish ideals are expressed in the lives of Moses and David, as ours are in the traditional Washington, Franklin and Jefferson. The actual morality of the ancient Hebrews was "extremely low." Jacob had "a total want of moral sense." David was egotistic in the extreme and this is the trait that has caused the Jews to be disliked ever since. They alone refused to get into common intercourse with mankind, maintaining their peculiar rights and unsocial manners with sullen obstinacy, and thus making themselves obnoxious to the world. The exclusiveness, bigotry, intolerance and persecution which they exercised toward others has been paid to them ever since. Their pernicious doctrine was that God had favorites and this has wrought incalculable mischief. As this view came into power in the early Christian centuries, Greece and Rome declined because it erected a wall across the pathway of human progress.

Adonis, Attis, Osiris. Studies in the History of Oriental Religion, by J. G. FRAZER. Macmillan & Company, Ltd., London, 1907. pp. 452.

In this second edition some minor corrections have been made and some further matter added, misunderstandings eliminated and further evidence given upon disputed points. The substance of this book, we are pleased to note, is not only an expansion of the author's famous "The Golden Bough," but will form a part of the third edition of that work which is soon due. The first book treats of Adonis and shows how changes of season were explained by the life and death of gods, and his worship in Syria and Cyprus is explained. There is no more interesting chapter in the book than that on sacred men and women in Asia, Africa and elsewhere, and the conception of the sense of gods and the reincarnation of the dead. A very long section is devoted to the burning of Landan, the god of corn and grain. This involves an account of the burning of other apotheosized men and their connection with volcanic and other unusual religions, with chapters on the ritual of Adonis. Attis, too, is a god of vegetation who is the father of a god, has human representatives, is hanged, etc. Osiris is their Egyptian counterpart who plays perhaps the central rôle in the official calendar of the Egyptian farmer. He is a corn god, tree spirit and god of fertility and of the dead, as indeed was Isis originally. They are interpreted as sun and moon gods respectively. The volume is crowded with suggestive facts most comprehensively grouped.

Die religiöse Kindererziehung im Deutschen Reich, von WILHELM GÜTTLER. Walther-Rothschild, Berlin, 1908. pp. 331.

This volume is based upon a very careful study of the laws of German states concerning religious training and the author allows himself but relatively little scope for opinions of his own, save in a brief introduction. He is, however, very profoundly concerned with reforming the present status of German laws regarding the religious education of children of mixed parentage, that is of Catholics and Protestants. A special detailed provision for such is made in all German laws. Still others specify what shall be done with illegitimate children and with those who are adopted. It is upon these points that the law is most explicit and that this author dwells. The principle of having girls brought up in the religion of the mother and the boys of the father does not seem to him entirely satisfactory.

The Psychology of Inspiration; an Attempt to Distinguish Religious from Scientific Truth and to Harmonize Christianity with Modern Thought, by GEORGE LANSING RAYMOND. Funk & Wagnalls Company, New York, 1908. pp. 340.

This work seems to have been written to show that a man can be both a Christian minister and a man of science. After two chapters on the nature of truth, the writer discusses the mind's susceptibility to spiritual or inspirational as contrasted with material influences, the contributions from conscious intellectual to that which is received from the subconscious. The suggestive character of revealed truth, the significance and form of suggested truth, rational methods of interpreting Bible statements, Christian dogmatism, the church, the conscious, conduct, faith, belief, etc., as affected by considering spiritual truth through suggestion. The book is rather easy and pleasant reading with remarkably clear printing, but not making any very radical new contributions. It might be described as an application of the principle of suggestion to religious faith.

The Philosophical Basis of Religion, by JOHN WATSON. A series of lectures. James Maclehose & Sons, Glasgow, 1907. pp. 485.

Those who have read Dr. Watson's early writings will be able to forecast what is the character of book he has here given us. Strong, able, vigorous, confident and very well read, he posits the relations between religion and authority; describes the development of dogma; the relations of science and morality to religion; tells us how idealism is a philosophy of religion; contrasts it with the new realism; lays down laws of religious experience; takes a fall out of pragmatism and another out of James's Philosophy of Religion; discusses the relations between Christianity and history, the gnostic philosophy, Augustine, mediæval theology, that of Leibnitz and the Protestants and concludes with a summary of the relations between God and man. Six of the seventeen lectures were given before the Brooklyn Institute. Together they attempt to reconstruct the history of religious belief and assume that complete revision of current theology is necessary. He eliminates technical terms and on the whole has written a readable book, despite the fact that it is egregiously spun out and is marred by too many repetitions.

Sexualethik, von CHRISTIAN V. EHRENFELS. F. J. Bergmann, Wiesbaden, 1907. pp. 99.

This professor of philosophy who has already written many sporadic articles upon the subject, here brings together his views into a more systematic whole. He desires to stand for a new system of practical ethics which shall place the entire problem of the relation of sexes upon a basis of the most effective propagation of citizens of a state. To this end he even attacks the doctrine of monogamy and even intimates that laws punishing seduction might be remitted for certain élite men, provided they shall have been given a prolonged course of mental, moral and physical training to bring them up to the highest standard. The children of such, though illegitimate, might be educated at public expense. We forbear here to discuss his problem further.

Grundriss der Religionsphilosophie, von D. CARL STANGE. Theodor Weiche, Leipzig, 1907. pp. 36.

This booklet is made up of the author's dictations for his course at Greifswald on Religious Philosophy and of course does not contain the author's more extensive and unwritten treatment. It must suffice our purpose here to say that in the first part on religious experience, the author deals with the epistemological problem of religion, the formal character of its concepts and its concrete content. In the second part, the historical character of religion is discussed, including its manifoldness and religion as history.

The Church and the Changing Order, by SHAILER MATTHEWS. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1907. pp. 255.

The writer first discusses the crisis of the church and its various aspects, its relations to scholarship, to the gospel of the risen Christ, to the gospel of brotherhood, social discontent and materialism, the sword of the crisis. In this work the writer leaves the task of detailed criticism and attempts to speak as a man to his fellow Christians.

The Materials of Religious Education, being the principal papers presented at, and the proceedings of, the Fourth General Convention of the Religious Education Association, at Rochester, N. Y., Feb. 5-7, 1907. Executive Office of the Association, Chicago, 1907. pp. 379.

This volume contains abstracts of many interesting addresses which are: Are we a Christian nation?; The quickening of the public conscience; Religious education in universities and colleges; Ministerial supply; The pastor as a teacher; Moral education; Ethical value of physical training and play; Boys' fraternities; The infant's nervous system; The ideal young people's society; Library work, etc.

Conversion in Relation to the Sunday School, by FREDERICK EBY. Baylor University Bulletin, Vol. X, No. 5, Sept., 1907. pp. 20.

Dr. Eby collected the answers of 1,248 Baptists as to the age and time of conversion. Of these 443 were ministers and 439 were women. Subsequently 339 students answered the same question. The curve he prints shows that the great majority of conversions occur between ten and twenty-five; that it occurs more frequently and earlier in girls than in boys, although maximal age in both is fourteen. It seems very clear that conversion is a normal experience and should be expected and that this is the time for it.

Scholasticism Old and New. An introduction to scholastic philosophy, mediæval and modern. By M. DE WULF. Translated by P. Coffey. Benziger Bros., New York, 1907. pp. 327.

The translator undertook his task in order to give the advocates of modern systems of philosophy as opposed to scholasticism better information about the latter than is usually found in English and to aid students who wish to study scholasticism in a connected way, and thirdly, to exhibit to English readers an insight into the meaning, spirit and progress of the scholastic revival that has been going on for the last quarter of a century; and lastly, to prepare the way for translating the Louvain course in philosophy.

Friedrich Nietzsche, the Dionysian Spirit of the Age, by A. R. ORAGE. T. N. Foulis, London, 1906. pp. 81.

The chief point of this book is that the writer finds the key note to all Nietzsche's writings in his conceptions of Apollo versus Dionysos, the former representing convention and order and the latter riotous infractions of order or the vitality that is transcendent and breaking up every established status.

Der litterarische Charakter der neutestamentlichen Schriften, von C. F. GEORG HEINRICI. Dürr'schen Buchhandlung, Leipzig, 1908. pp. 127.

After giving the history, in the second chapter the author takes up Hellenism and Judaism, then the original conditions of the New Testament writing, then literary form and the means of expression therein found.